

AOR6

Greek

Class

Book

University of Chicago Library

GIVEN BY

Besides the main topic this book also treats of

Subject No.

On page

Subject No.

On page

A

46

10.

Perpetua, Saint Legend.
"THE"

THE PASSION OF S. PERPETUA

NEWLY EDITED FROM THE MSS.

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

TOGETHER WITH AN APPENDIX
CONTAINING THE ORIGINAL LATIN TEXT OF
THE SCILLITAN MARTYRDOM

BY

J. ARMITAGE ROBINSON B.D.

FELLOW AND ASSISTANT TUTOR OF CHRIST'S COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE

CAMBRIDGE
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS
1891

[*All Rights reserved*]

BX 4700
P+2 A3 R6

Cambridge:

PRINTED BY C. J. CLAY, M.A. AND SONS,
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS.

189916

FRATRI · MEO

QVI · APVD · ALIENIGENAS · AFRICAE · OCCIDENTALIS

DVM · MARTYRVVM · FIDEICOMMISSVM

PRO · VIRIBVS · EXEQVEBATVR

NVPERRIME · IN · CHRISTO · OBDORMIVIT

HOC · OPVS · QVANTVLVMCVMQVE

DE · PRIMITIIS · ECCLESIAE · AFRICANAE

DEDICO

SVMMO · DESIDERIO

PREFACE.

THE recent discovery of a Greek text has awakened a fresh interest in the most beautiful of all the records of Christian Martyrdom. The occurrence of Greek words in the familiar Latin document had previously led some scholars to suspect that it might be a translation from the Greek. This may help to account for the hasty welcome which has been accorded to the theory that the newly found Greek text is the veritable original. This view moreover found some support in the parallel theory of Aubé that Usener's discovery of the still earlier Scillitan Martyrdom in a Greek dress gave us another Greek original for a record hitherto known to us only through somewhat amplified Latin recensions.

In the poverty of our knowledge as to the beginnings of the African Church any new information must be eagerly welcomed. But it must first be tested by critical processes before it can be added to the scanty materials of history. The present study is an attempt at such criticism. The result, unless I am mistaken, is that both theories alike break down. The beautiful Latin of S. Perpetua's Martyrdom holds its own against its clumsy rival: and I have endeavoured by the aid of the MSS. to present it in a more satisfactory form. I have been fortunate in finding the original Latin of the Scillitan Martyrdom; and I edit accordingly for the first time what may perhaps claim to be the earliest consecutive piece of Christian Latin which has been preserved to us.

The important problem of the language commonly used in the earliest Churches of the West receives, I believe, some new light from the observations which I have made in an additional note, in which I have adduced evidence to prove that the Churches of Vienne and Lyons were better acquainted with a Latin Version than with the original Greek of the New Testament. The famous

Letter which describes their sufferings was addressed to an Eastern Church and was therefore written in Greek: but the Scriptural quotations and allusions which it contains point to a process of extemporaneous retranslation from a Latin Version which betrays affinities with what is known as the African Old Latin.

Several other matters of interest have come out in the course of the study of these problems. Two sources from which the Carthaginian Martyrs unconsciously drew the materials of their Visions appear to be the Shepherd of Hermas and the Apocalypse of Peter. These two books may accordingly be added provisionally to the early Latin Bible of the West. I have moreover been led to the belief that we owe the record of the Martyrs' sufferings to no less powerful a writer than Tertullian himself.

The present Study was accepted by the Professors of Divinity as a Dissertation for the Degree of B.D. I owe it to the courtesy of the Regius Professor that I have been allowed to make some small additions previous to its publication.

To edit the Passion of S. Perpetua with the fulness which is called for by the many questions of history, of doctrine and of Latinity which it involves, would demand a large volume. I can only offer a short study, of the incompleteness of which I am painfully aware: but I hope that I have done something towards a purer text and a better understanding of a document which few students of Latin can fail to appreciate and no one can read without emotion.

CHRIST'S COLLEGE,
S. Peter's Day, 1891.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGES
INTRODUCTION	1-58
The Relation between the Latin and Greek Texts	2
The MSS. of the Passion	10
The Origin and Use of the Short Latin Acts	15
Were our Martyrs Thuburbitan?	22
The Shepherd of Hermas and the Visions	26
The Apocalypse of Peter and the Vision of Saturus	37
The Authorship of the Visions	43
The Authorship of the rest of the Martyrdom	47
THE LATIN AND GREEK TEXTS OF THE PASSION	60-95
ADDITIONAL NOTES	96-103
Additional Variants in the MSS.	96
The Old Latin Version in the Churches of Vienne and Lyons	97
On the emendation of a passage in c. xvi.	100
The Text of the Short Latin Acts	100
APPENDIX	106-121
Introduction to the Scillitan Martyrdom	106
The Latin and Greek Texts	112
Two later Latin Recensions	118
INDICES	123-131
Index of words in the Latin Text of S. Perpetua	123
Index of words in the Greek Text of S. Perpetua	128
Index of subject matter	130



INTRODUCTION.

THE Martyrdom of S. Perpetua and her companions has come down to us without a title and without the name of its author; and moreover, if we except certain incidental allusions, with no indication either of its locality or of its date. These untoward circumstances have exercised, as we shall see, a strange influence upon its literary history; and in only one manuscript has it survived even approximately intact in its original form. This copy was discovered by L. Holsten in the Benedictine Monastery of Monte Cassino. He transcribed it for the press, but did not live to edit it. His work was subsequently taken up by P. Poussin, who published it at Rome in 1663, adding to Holsten's valuable notes others scarcely less important of his own. In the following year it was reprinted at Paris by H. de Valois, who prefixed a preface in which he discussed the locality and date of the martyrdom and contended that the collector of the Visions was a Montanist. It was next reprinted by the Bollandists in 1668, with a few additional annotations, but no fresh recension of the text. It was again edited at Oxford in 1680, in a duodecimo volume, at the end of Lactantius *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, with a few additional notes and some variants from a MS. called Codex Sarisburiensis. Ruinart in his *Acta Sincera* endeavoured to improve the text by the aid of two imperfect MSS. (Salisburgensis and Compendiensis): but his emendations were for the most part infelicitous, and his list of variants was both incorrect and incomplete. So that up to the present time the *editio princeps* has remained the best authority for the text. In the spring of the year 1889 Prof. Rendel Harris discovered a complete Greek text of the

Martyrdom in the library of the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. This was published by him, in conjunction with Prof. Seth K. Gifford of Haverford College, Pennsylvania, in 1890 at the Cambridge University Press, with an introduction and short notes. At the same time he reprinted Ruinart's Latin text with a few emendations suggested by the Greek. In the present edition I have given a fresh recension of the Latin text from the manuscripts: and I have discussed the relation of the Greek to the Latin text, and also to the shorter Latin Acts. I have also ventured upon the question of the authorship of the Visions themselves and of the framework in which they are preserved. Besides this, I believe that I have been able to point out some sources, hitherto unrecognised, from which what may be called the raw material of the Visions has been largely drawn; and I have added some notes and illustrations which I trust will throw light on several obscure passages in the text. My interest in the subject has been stirred by Mr Harris's book, to which, as well as to his subsequent suggestions, I desire at the outset to acknowledge my indebtedness.

The Relation between the Latin and Greek Texts.

The MS. discovered by Mr Rendel Harris is thus described by him: "The Greek text is taken from a MS. in the library of the Convent of the Holy Sepulchre (Cod. S. Sep. 1). The MS. contains *βίοι καὶ μαρτυρίαι* for the month of February. It is labelled with the name of Symeon Metaphrastes, but inasmuch as the writing is of the tenth century at least the title must not be taken literally. Among the interesting matters in this Codex will be found on p. 136 the martyrdom of Polycarp (i.e. the letter of the Smyrneans). On pp. 144—173 the life of Porphyry of Gaza. On p. 173 Hippolytus, *De Christo et Antichristo*. The martyrdom of Perpetua will be found on p. 41 of the MS."¹

The first question which calls for an answer is the relation of this Greek text to the Latin with which scholars have been familiar for the last two centuries. Are we to regard the Greek as a

¹ *Acts of Perpetua and Felicitas*, p. 36.

translation of the Latin, or *vice versâ*? The discoverer of the Greek form has endeavoured to prove that it is the original, and that the Latin is a translation made half a century later. Such a conclusion is very startling: for we naturally expect that the martyrdoms of a Latin Church will be chronicled in the Latin tongue¹.

The evidence in a question of this kind may conveniently be considered under three main heads. First, a translation, being obviously intended for foreign readers, will often introduce explanatory phrases which would have been superfluous to the persons for whom the original was intended; while, on the other hand, it will sometimes suppress details which are troublesome to translate or do not readily lend themselves to explanation. Secondly, the translation will generally be weaker and more diffuse than the original: and this will be specially the case if the original be Latin. Dependent clauses will often be coordinated, and words which cannot easily be paralleled will be represented by a double or an alternative rendering. Thirdly, when there is a play upon words in the original, this will as a rule be lost in the translation: and this last indication, if we are fortunate enough to meet with it, is perhaps the most conclusive of all. I shall endeavour to give illustrations in the present case under each of these heads, to support the view that the Latin is the original and the Greek a subsequent translation. If I dismiss the subject somewhat summarily, it will be in the conviction that almost every topic subsequently treated of in this Introduction will furnish new proofs to substantiate this view. For the convenience of the argument I shall from the outset speak of the Latin original, and of the Greek version.

(1) In the introductory chapter we find a difference in person between the Latin and the Greek, which is explained at once if we suppose that the Latin was written for readers who lived on the

¹ I have now Mr Harris's authority to say that he has seen reason to change his view of the matter, and to regard the Latin as the original. A similar contest is being waged over the Greek and Latin forms of the Scillitan Martyrdom; where Usener is undoubtedly right, in spite of Aubé's efforts to refute him, in declaring the Greek to be a translation from an original Latin document. See the Appendix at the end of this study.

scene, and some of whom had been eye-witnesses of the events described.

Et nos itaque quod audiuiimus et
contractauimus annuntiamus et uo-
bis¹, fratres et filioli, ut et uos *qui*
interfuistis rememoremini gloriae Do-
mini, et *qui nunc cognoscitis* per
auditum communionem *habeatis* cum
sanctis martyribus, &c.

Καὶ ἡμεῖς ἃ ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἑώρακαμεν
καὶ ἐψηλαφήσαμεν εὐαγγελιζόμεθα ὑμῖν,
ἀδελφοὶ καὶ τέκνα, ἵνα καὶ οἱ συμπα-
ρόντες ἀναμνησθῶσιν δόξης θεοῦ,
καὶ οἱ νῦν δι' ἀκοῆς γινώσκοντες
κοινωνίαν ἔχῃτε μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύ-
ρων, κ.τ.λ.

This suggests that in the Greek a translator is drawing a line of distinction between persons who had been on the spot and only needed to be reminded, and others at a distance or at a later time, who through his writing would now for the first time have fellowship with the African martyrs. But the contrast in the Latin is between 'fratres' and 'filioli,' terms suggested by the 'filioli' of S. John's Epistle; that is to say, between the writer's own generation ('qui interfuistis') and a younger generation now growing up in the Church ('qui nunc cognoscitis per auditum').

Immediately after this quotation there follows in the Greek (c. ii.) a mention of the locality to which the martyrs belonged: ἐν πόλει θουκρινάων (sic cod.) τῇ μικροτέρᾳ. This is entirely absent from the Latin: and its absence may be accounted for on the ground that such a localising of the martyrdom was superfluous for the original readers. Indeed it is open to question whether the statement is not altogether false and based on a later misapprehension².

In c. v. we read:

Superuenit autem et *de ciuitate*
pater meus, consumptus taedio: et
ascendit ad me, ut me deiceret.

Παρεγένετο δὲ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῆς
πολλῆς ἀποδημίας μαραινόμενος· καὶ
ἀνέβη πρὸς με προτρεπόμενός με κατα-
βαλεῖν.

¹ It is worth while to observe that the omission of the *καὶ* before *ὑμῖν* is a late variant in S. John's Epistle: and it is hard to believe that an original writer would give *εὐαγγελιζόμεθα* instead of *ἀπαγγέλλομεν*, though it might easily come in as a rendering of 'annuntiamus.' Other indications of the later date of the Greek, derived from its rendering of quotations, are found in the change of 'eorum' into *ὑμῶν* in c. i. (see note *ad loc.*), and in *Διτίεσθε καὶ λήμψεσθε* (c. xix.), which one can scarcely believe possible from an original writer.

² See below, pp. 22 ff.

The expression ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς ἀποδημίας¹ is a reminiscence of c. iii, τότε ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἀποδημήσαντος αὐτοῦ, κ.τ.λ., where Perpetua describes her relief at the temporary absence of her father. The Latin however does not suggest that he had gone on a journey, but merely that he had not come again to the prison: 'tunc paucis diebus quod caruissem patrem Domino gratias egi, et refrigeravi absentia illius.' The exaggeration of the Greek is apparently the result of an effort to avoid the ambiguity of 'de ciuitate,' which however was quite intelligible to those who thought of the martyrs as confined at this period in the prison of the Proconsular palace, which was on the Byrsa, 200 feet above the city. The Forum was down by the sea, and the local touch in 'ascendit' may be illustrated from Appian's statement that the Byrsa was the Acropolis of Carthage, and that in the time of Scipio's siege there were three streets going up to it from the Forum².

In c. x. we read in the Latin 'ad portam Sanauuiariam, (Saneuiariam BC)' the Greek has πρὸς πύλην τὴν λεγομένην ζωτικήν. The explanatory phrase betrays the translator.

Of omission and modifications which are apparently due to a desire to shirk a difficult phrase, we may notice the following:

c. iii. uas hoc iacens, urceolum siue aliud ; σκεῦος κείμενον ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων.

c. xiii. Aspasium presbyterum doctorem ; Ἀσπάσιον τὸν πρεσβύτερον.

ibid. et de factionibus certantes ; καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν φιλονεικοῦντες.

c. xv. ex ministris cataractariorum ; τῶν παρατηρούντων ὑπηρετῶν.

c. xviii. flagellis eos uexari pro ordine uenatorum postulauit ; μαστιγωθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐβόησεν.

An indication that the Greek is later than the Latin is found in the addition of epithets such as 'holy' and 'blessed.' These are not altogether unknown in the Latin, but the Greek is alone in introducing them in the following instances: c. xviii. οἱ ἅγιοι

¹ Von Gebhardt in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* for Jan. 24, 1891, ingeniously emends the Greek, by the aid of an expression in c. ix. (τῇ ἀκηδία μαρνανθής), as follows: ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπ' ἀκηδίας (or ἀκηδία) μαρνανόμενος. If this were the original form of the Greek, the explanation which I have given may serve to account for its corruption.

² Appian, *De rebus Punicis*, § 1 ἡ Καρχηδονίων ἀκρόπολις: and § 128 τριῶν δ' οὐσῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀνόδων εἰς αὐτήν, κ.τ.λ.

ἡγαλλιάσθησαν. c. xx. ταῖς μακαρίαις δὲ νεάνισιν. c. xxi. διὰ τῶν ἁγίων σωμάτων...καὶ οἱ μακάριοι μάρτυρες...ἐπὶ τῷ μακαρίῳ θανάτῳ αὐτῶν...τῶν μακαρίων μαρτύρων. It is inconceivable that, if these were in the original, a Latin translator should have rejected them. A parallel case is found in the later Latin recensions and the Greek version of the Scillitan Martyrdom: see the Appendix.

We may next observe the evident desire of the Greek translator to minimise the Montanistic allusions to the work of the Holy Spirit. Thus at the outset (c. i.) we have:

Itaque et nos qui sicut prophetias
itaet uisiones nouas *pariter repromissas*
et agnoscimus et honoramus; *ceterasque*
uirtutes Spiritus Sancti *ad instru-*
mentum ecclesiae deputamus.

Ἡμεῖς δὲ οἷτινες προφητείας καὶ
ὁράσεις καινὰς δεχόμεθα καὶ ἐπιγνώ-
σκομεν καὶ τιμῶμεν πάσας τὰς δυνά-
μεις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ὡς χορηγεῖ
τῇ ἀγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ.

Here the translator omits 'pariter repromissas,' and gives *πάσας* instead of the Latin 'ceteras,' which implied that the prophecies and visions were themselves 'powers of the Spirit intended for the equipment of the Church.'

In c. xvi. the beautiful phrase 'permisit et permittendo uoluit Spiritus Sanctus' appears merely as ἐπέτρεψεν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα.

But the tendency is most conspicuous in the concluding sentences of the book, which have been miserably rewritten, so that the great moral of the whole, 'ut nouae quoque uirtutes unum et eundem semper Spiritum Sanctum usque adhuc operari testificentur,' is exchanged for a frigid commonplace, ἡ πανάρετος πολιτεία τῶν μακαρίων μαρτύρων, κ.τ.λ.

(2) I shall next quote a few passages in which the superior strength and terseness of the Latin seems to support the view that it is the original.

c. ii. Perpetua, *honeste nata, liberaliter instituta, matronaliter nupta...* haec ordinem totum martyrii sui iam hinc ipsa narrauit, sicut conscriptum manu sua *et suo sensu* reliquit.

Περπετούα, ἥτις ἦν γεννηθεῖσα εὐγενῶς καὶ τραφείσα πολυτελῶς γαμηθεῖσά τε ἐξόχως...ἥτις πᾶσαν τὴν τάξιν τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐντεῦθεν διηγέστατο, ὡς καὶ τῷ νοῦ αὐτῆς καὶ τῇ χειρὶ συγγράψασα κατέλιπεν οὕτως εἰποῦσα.

No one will deny to the Latin in this place a true ring of genuineness: but I would call special attention to the phrase 'et suo sensu'. The Greek rendering, καὶ τῷ νοῦ αὐτῆς, is a caricature of the somewhat rhetorical phrase of the Latin.

c. iv. Iam in magna dignatione es, tanta ut postules uisionem et ostendatur tibi, an passio sit an comestus.

*Ἦδη ἐν μεγάλῳ ἀξιώματι ὑπάρχεις τοσαύτη οὖσα ὥς εἰ αἰτήσεις ὀπτασίας ὀπτασίαν λάβοις ἂν εἰς τὸ δειχθῆναί σοι εἴπερ ἀναβολὴν ἔχεις ἢ παθεῖν μέλλεις.

Here 'tanta' is undoubtedly the ablative case: but the translator takes it as a nominative, shewing a defective knowledge of the Latin language; such as also appears immediately below, where he renders 'non nisi singuli' as εἰ μὴ μοναχὸν ἓνα: and again, when 'arserunt' is translated by κρεμασθέντας (c. xi.); and 'fidei-commissum' by κέλευσμα (c. xvi.).

It would be easy to increase this list almost indefinitely; but I shall content myself with noting a few phrases which speak for themselves.

c. v. Depone animos.

*Ἀπόθου τοὺς θυμούς.

Ibid. Haec dicebat pater pro sua pietate.

Ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὡς πατὴρ κατὰ τὴν τῶν γονέων εὐνοίαν.

c. vi. Ius gladii acceperat.

*Ἐξουσίαν εἰλήφει μαχαίρας.

c. vii. Sordido uultu et colore pallido.

*Ἐσθῆτα ἔχοντα ῥυπαράν· ὥχρον τῇ χρῶα.

c. x. Efferens uirgam quasi lanista, et ramum uiridem in quo erant mala aurea.

*Ἐβάσταξεν δὲ καὶ ῥαβδὸν ὡς βραβευτῆς ἢ προστάτης μονομάχων· ἔφερεν δὲ καὶ κλαδοὺς χλωροὺς ἔχοντας μῆλα χρυσᾶ.

c. xviii. Agnouit iniustitia iustitiam.

*Ἐπέγνω ἡ ἀδικία τὴν δικαιοσύνην.

c. xx. Pudoris potius memor quam doloris.

Αἰδοῦς μᾶλλον μνημονεύσασα ἢ πόνων· αἰδουμένη μῆδαμὼς φροντίσασα τῶν ἀλγυδόνων.

The instances quoted from c. x. and c. xx. are examples of an alternative rendering in the Greek.

¹ Cf. Tertull. *De Fuga*, 9, 'Denique memor Apocalypsis suae, in qua timidorum exitum audierat, de suo sensu admonet et ipse timorem reiiciendum: Timor, inquit, non est in dilectione.'

(3) In the account of the death of Saturus in c. xxi. we have a remarkable instance of a play upon words in the Latin.

Et statim in fine spectaculi, leopardo eiecto, de uno morsu tanto perfusus est sanguine, ut populus reuertenti illi secundi baptismatis testimonium reclamauerit: *Saluum lotum, saluum lotum.* plane utique *saluus* erat, qui hoc modo lauerat. tunc Pudenti militi inquit: Vale, inquit, et memor esto fidei meae.

Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐν τέλει τῆς θεωρίας πάρ-
δαλις αὐτῷ ἐβλήθη, καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ δῆγματι
τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνεπλήσθη· το-
σοῦτον αἷμα ἔρρύη, ὥς λογισθῆναι δευ-
τέρου βαπτισμοῦ μαρτύριον· καθὼς καὶ
ἐπεφώνει ὁ ὄχλος βοῶν καὶ λέγων·
Καλῶς ἐλούσω, καλῶς ἐλούσω. καὶ μὴν
ὕγις ἦν ὁ τοιοῦτῳ τρόπῳ λελουμένος.
τότε τῷ στρατιώτῃ Πούδεντι ἔφη·
Ὑγίαινε, καὶ μνημόνευε πίστεως καὶ
ἐμοῦ.

Here we may note, first of all, that the translator has got into confusion about 'perfusus,' which he seems to interpret of the leopard: and, secondly, that he comes dangerously near to the absurdity of making the spectators in their coarse jest consciously allude to the Second Baptism. '*Saluum lotum*' is a phrase of the baths, to which *καλῶς ἐλούσω* properly corresponds. But the play upon words is lost when *καλῶς ἐλούσω* is followed by *ὕγις*, the literal translation of 'saluus.' The translator, indeed, seems to have been conscious of the loss, and to have endeavoured to make some reparation by his grotesque translation of 'uale' as *ὕγίαινε*.

The examples which I have given above are sufficient to create a strong presumption in favour of the originality of the Latin form of the document: and I hope that our subsequent investigation of the Latin text itself will set the matter beyond dispute. Meanwhile I would call attention to a curious notice in the Vision of Saturus (c. xiii.) which confirms this judgment. There it is expressly stated that Perpetua talked in Greek with the bishop and presbyter outside the heavenly gate. Such a notice is hard to explain if the original document was composed in the Greek language. But it is perfectly natural if it was written in Latin. Thus, conversely, in the Greek letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons it is thrice stated expressly that a speaker used the Latin tongue (Eus. *H. E.* v. 1, §§ 20, 44, 52). Indeed it is quite

conceivable that Saturus mentioned the fact because he did not understand Greek himself.

But while we cannot admit the priority of the Greek document, we may gladly recognise its general excellence as a translation, and look to it for great assistance in the emendation of the Latin text. Two instances may here be given of its value for this purpose.

(1) c. i. quasi repensatione rerum A.

Here Holsten edited 'repensatione,' without recording the reading of his MS. 'Repensatio' could scarcely mean anything but 'repayment.' The Greek has: *ὡς παρουσία τῶν πραγμάτων χρώμεθα*, from which Mr Harris at once restored 'repraesentatione,' although he was unaware of the actual reading of A. The error is now seen to be a very simple one, when we remember that 'prae' would be written with the usual abbreviation. It is interesting to observe that this palmary emendation is confirmed by a passage in one of S. Augustine's Sermons on these martyrs (Migne, *P. L.* 38 p. 1281): 'Hodiernus dies anniuersaria replicatione nobis in memoriam reuocat, et quodammodo repraesentat diem, quo sanctae famulae Dei Perpetua et Felicitas,' &c.

(2) An important restoration is in c. xviii. where the replacement of the lost words 'ad sanguinem' after 'a sanguine' (*ἀπὸ αἵματος εἰς αἷμα*) redresses the balance of a sentence which proved troublesome to the earlier editors. It is somewhat strange that the words 'ad sanguinem' should have been lost in both the lines of the Latin text: but probably this is due to the fact that 'ad' was written 'a,' and then, as the final 'm' does not necessarily distinguish the accusative from the ablative (for it seems to have been sounded very lightly if at all in the vulgar Latin, and was often wrongly inserted or omitted), there would seem to be a dittography of 'a sanguine,' and so the loss would be certain. 'A' for 'ad' occurs just before in the same sentence, 'a bestias' AB: so too in c. x. (p. 78, l. 10) where for 'ad bestias' we have 'a bestiis' A, and 'a bestia' B. We find the same spelling in Codex Bezae; e.g. Acts xvi. 38, 'quae dicta sunt a praetores.'

The MSS. of the Passion of S. Perpetua.

The first edition, that of Holsten, was made solely from a MS. which he found in the Benedictine monastery of Monte Cassino. It will be convenient to describe this MS. first ; for, although it is not the oldest, it is the most complete.

1. CODEX CASINENSIS (A). In the *Bibliotheca Casinensis* (vol. iv. cod. 204) this MS. is described as coming at the end of an 11th cent. MS. of Cyprian, and being itself written in a 12th cent. hand. But at the end of the description of our part of the MS., the same Catalogue speaks of it as 'quod uidetur xi saeculo,' and this latter judgment coincides with the view of the present Archivist, Don Ambrogio Amelli. The opening lines of the Martyrdom are given in facsimile opposite p. 164 of the Catalogue. The size of the leaf is $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches by $7\frac{1}{2}$. Black capitals are used at the beginning of sentences, but not for proper names. The hand is quite distinct from that of the works of Cyprian, but apparently of the same period. According to the present numeration of leaves the Martyrdom commences on f. 168 r., and ends on f. 173 v. There are 32 lines to the page. The Martyrdom has no title, but commences at once with the words: *Si uetera fidei exempla*: this is the only Latin authority for the important opening section. The edition of Holsten was a posthumous work, and his text is marred by many inaccuracies which a careful revision with the aid of the MS. would have removed. I have to thank the Benedictine Fathers for their kind hospitality shewn to me, when I visited the home of their great founder and collated this MS. in September 1890.

2. CODEX COMPENDIENSIS (B). Readings from this MS. were used to some extent by Ruinart; but his witness is very incomplete and often inaccurate. In his time the MS. belonged to the Abbey of Compiègne. It is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (fonds latin, 17626). It is assigned to the 10th century. Our Passion commences on f. 64 with the words: *INCIPIT PASSIO SCÆ FELICITATIS ET PERPETVÆ*. *Reuocatus et felicitas conserua eius*. Thus the prefatory section is missing : and, generally speaking, the

condition of the text is far inferior to that of the Codex Casinensis. But it fills up some serious blanks of that Codex.

3. CODEX SALISBURGENSIS, or SARISBURIENSIS (C). For this MS. I have searched in vain. Ruinart made use of readings from it, and speaks of it as 'Ecclesiae Salisburgensis, cuius codicis uarias lectiones sapientissimi uiri Antonii Faure Theologi Parisiensis et Remensis Ecclesiae Praepositi beneficio accepimus.' The MSS. of the Domkapitel at Salzburg have been dispersed; and most of them seem to have gone either to Vienna or to Munich. In neither place could I find any trace of this codex, nor was it to be found in the Peterstift at Salzburg.

In the edition of the Martyrdom published at Oxford, without name¹, in 1680 at the close of Lactantius *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, Holsten's text is used, with corrections and various readings from a MS. spoken of as Codex Sarisburiensis. It is evident from a comparison of these readings with those given by Ruinart that Cod. Sarisburiensis bears the closest relation to Cod. Salisburgensis; indeed they are almost certainly one and the same. A confusion has arisen between Salisbury and Salzburg: but who has made the mistake we cannot say. The catalogue of the Cathedral MSS. at Salisbury, made by Mr Maunde Thompson, now Librarian of the British Museum, contains no mention of such a MS., and Mr H. J. White, who kindly made enquiry for me on the spot, can learn nothing of it. At present therefore we have to content ourselves with the testimony of the Oxford edition², supplemented by the notices in Ruinart. But, fortunately, these suffice to give us a fair conception of the MS., and to shew its close relation to Codex Compendiensis.

Substantial help for the criticism of the text is afforded by the Greek Version (g), the description of which by its discoverer, Mr Rendel Harris, is given above on p. 2. I am indebted to Mr Harris for having collated afresh on my behalf the Greek text printed in his edition with his original transcript of the MS. I have not however fully recorded its numerous blunders.

¹ There can be no doubt that it was edited by Thomas Spark of Christ Church, who reprinted the *De Mortibus* in his larger edition of Lactantius in 1684.

² When the Oxford editor silently departs in his text from the text of Holsten, it is generally safe to assume that he is following Cod. Sarisburiensis.

The problem of the relation of the various authorities which have been enumerated is by no means a simple one. Cod. Casinensis is linked with the Greek Version by the prefatory section, which they alone have preserved: Codd. Compendiensis and Salisburgensis on the other hand are linked together by its omission. But in the body of the work the two last mentioned have many striking points of agreement with the Greek Version against Cod. Casinensis. At first sight therefore it might seem as though this triple combination (BCg) would be the securest foundation for the text: but the single fact, that in c. vii. all three omit the name of Geta, may teach us to be cautious in our judgment.

I shall first endeavour to shew the relation of Cod. Salisburgensis (C), as far as we are able to judge of its readings, to Cod. Compendiensis (B): and then enquire into their common relation to Cod. Casinensis (A). After this I shall examine the relation of the Greek Version (g) to the two lines of Latin testimony which will thus have been marked out.

1. B and C are together in certain obvious errors which are not found in A. I have already mentioned the omission of the prefatory section. This may have been due to a dislike to its Montanistic tendency, or to a desire to shorten the treatise for Church purposes; or, again, the MS. from which they were copied may have lost its first page. In c. iv. (p. 66, l. 21) they are together against A and g in the insertion of 'Domini' before 'Jesu Christi': this is probably an addition made, as so often, for liturgical purposes. They are probably wrong again in the same chapter (p. 68, l. 1) in reading 'eleuauit,' as against 'eiecit' A, and *προσήνεκεν* of the Greek.

More certain errors are the following:

- c. x. p. 76, l. 14, afa] Ag; aqua BC
- c. xi. p. 78, l. 15, carne] Ag; carcere BC
- c. xvii. p. 86, l. 14, iudicii BC; *om.* Ag
- „ p. 86, l. 15, omnes] Ag; multi BC
- c. xix. p. 90, l. 3, apro] Ag; aprum BC
- „ p. 90, l. 5, substrictus] Ag; subreptus B; subrectus C
- c. xx. p. 90, l. 10, et reticulis indutae] A (displaced in g); *om.* BC.

On the other hand B and C are right when A is wrong in the following cases:

- c. ii. p. 62, l. 19, Saturninus] BCg; *om.* A
- c. iii. p. 64, l. 1, inquam] BCg; inquit A
- c. iv. p. 66, l. 8, aeream] Cg (auream B); *om.* A
- „ p. 66, l. 17, qui(a) ipse nos aedificauerat] BCg; *om.* A
- „ p. 68, l. 4, canum] BCg; sanum A
- c. ix. p. 74, l. 20, mouerent] BCg; mouerentur A
- c. x. p. 78, l. 4, non calcans] BCg; concalcans A
- c. xiii. p. 82, l. 6, graece] BCg; *om.* A
- „ p. 82, l. 11, factionibus] BC; fatigationibus A; *om.* g
- c. xvi. p. 86, l. 4, humanius] BCg; manibus A.

Hence we may conclude that B and C have a common ancestor, which is independent of A.

2. The instances already quoted enable us to see that the Greek Version cannot have been made either from A or from the immediate ancestor of B and C: for it sometimes has a right reading with A as against B and C, and sometimes a right reading with B and C as against A. We may now proceed to enquire with which of these two lines of text it has the closest affinities. To do this we must examine the mistakes which it has in common with the one or the other.

I am not aware of any instance in which it can be shewn with certainty that A and g have the same mistake, while B and C have retained the true reading¹. On the other hand there are many cases in which BCg are wrong together, as against A. Thus in c. iii. p. 64, l. 6, we must almost certainly retain 'profecto' A, against 'profectus' BCg: and in c. iv. p. 66, l. 7, 'fidenter' A, against 'fidens' BC and *πίστεως πλήρης οὖσα* g. In this latter chapter (p. 66, l. 13) 'adtdens ascenderet' of A is certainly right: B and C read 'ascendens adtenderet,' and the paraphrase in g seems to be due to the attempt to make some sense out of this. Further examples may be gathered from the *apparatus* at the foot of our printed text.

¹ An apparent exception to this statement is in c. xix. (p. 90, l. 6), where B and C have a corrupt sentence, not found in A and g, about Pudens feeding the bear. I have not taken this into the text, as my theory of the genealogy of the MSS. leads me to regard it as a gloss. But possibly it was corrupted at an early date and consequently omitted by A and also by the Greek translator.

As a rule the readings of C are only preserved to us in cases where the editors have supposed them to be preferable to the text given by Holsten: so that its more obvious blunders have no doubt been passed over in silence. But if we may accept B as giving generally the text of the ancestor of B and C, we may find many more examples of coincidence in error between that ancestor and the Greek Version. Thus in c. vi. p. 70, l. 17, A reads 'et cum staret pater ad me deiciendam'; but B has the corrupt reading 'et contemptaret (for 'cum temptaret') pater me deiciendam': g renders this by *καὶ ὡς ἐσπούδαζεν ὁ πατήρ μου καταβαλεῖν ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμολογίας*. In c. vii. p. 72, l. 14, we have 'cum moreretur' A; 'cum moraretur' B; this latter being represented in g by *περιὼν ἔτι*. A striking instance is found in c. xii. p. 80, l. 12:

angeli quattuor stabant, qui introeuntes uestierunt stolas candidas: et A

erant angeli quattuor introeuntes et nos uestiti stolas candidas B

Here 'introeuntes' has passed in B from the accusative into the nominative case: and this is reproduced in the Greek Version, which however must have been made from a text less hopelessly corrupt than that now given in B:

εἰσελθόντες οἱ τέσσαρες ἄγγελοι ἐνέδυσαν ἡμᾶς λευκὰς στολὰς.

In the same chapter (p. 80, l. 22) we have 'stemus et stetimus' A; 'stemus et stemus' B. The reading in g, *σταθῶμεν καὶ προσευξώμεθα*, looks like an attempt at restoring sense by the aid of a liturgical formula.

Thus we are led to postulate for BCG a common ancestor independent of A. This ancestor among other defects had lost the name of Geta, but it retained the preface, which is wanting in B and C. To it I am also inclined to attribute the commencement of the confusion as to the date and locality of our Martyrs, which is found in the Greek Version and in the Short Latin recension. As to date, the omission of Geta's name opened the door to conjecture; for it is the only decisive note of time in the piece: and with regard to place, it is interesting to compare the phrase 'in ciuitate Turbitana,' in the title of C, with the words *ἐν πόλει θουκριτάνων* (for *Θουρβιτάνων*) *τῇ μικροτέρᾳ*, which in the Greek Version immediately follows the prefatory section which C has omitted.

It will be seen from my text that of these two lines of testimony, A and BCg, I have almost always given the preference to the former. Again and again A gives a more difficult reading which commends itself on further investigation, but which is exchanged in BCg for something easier, though less idiomatic or less forcible.

The Origin and Use of the Short Latin Acts.

The longer form of the Martyrdom was obviously inconvenient for the annual commemoration, especially in localities which were not directly interested in the African Church, and at a time when other martyrs had to be commemorated on the same day¹. Consequently the time arrived when the story of our martyrs had to be rewritten to bring it within a more manageable compass. At what period this was done it is perhaps not possible to determine: but it was probably after the confusion as to their locality and date had been already effected (see below, p. 25). But the manner in which it was done is plain to see. The old story was lacking in the one feature which characterises so many of the fictitious narratives of martyrdoms, and to which the appellation 'Acta' more especially refers. There was no account of the prolonged controversy between the martyrs and the cruel or the kind-hearted judge. This had to be supplied: and the new material carries with it its own condemnation. No one who appreciates the noble and dignified picture of Perpetua in the longer Martyrdom will for a moment believe that before the proconsul, and again in answer to her father's appeal, she punned upon her name. Nor is it likely that Felicitas when asked whether she had a husband, replied, 'Habeo quem nunc contemno.' For the rest the compiler has made a very bad use of the longer form, which must have been fresh in his memory, if not actually before him. He has marred everything that he has touched.

The verbal coincidences are too close to allow of the supposition that his narrative is independent of the longer form: as may be

¹ Even in the old Carthaginian Calendar Septimia comes on the same day with our martyrs. In the old Syrian Martyrology we read, 'Perpetua, Saturnilus and ten other Confessors.' In the Menology of Basil and in the Menaeum Trypho takes precedence of them. In the Roman Breviary they at last give way altogether before S. Thomas Aquinas.

seen, to take a single instance, when he reproduces in his own manner the rhetorical contrast of c. xviii. 'a sanguine ad sanguinem,' &c. But on the other hand towards the end he most strangely deserts the authority which should have kept him right, and says that Saturus and Perpetua were devoured by lions. The brevity of the account of the scene in the amphitheatre may have been due to his having already exhausted the space allotted to him; but the error is hard to explain, for it does not seem that his copy of the original Martyrdom was defective at the close.

It is not improbable that the Latin MS. which the abbreviator used was either that from which the Greek Version had been made, or some other descendant of the ancestor of BCg. For, if this were so, we can account for certain strange points of resemblance between the Greek Version and the Short Latin, which deserve to be noticed somewhat in detail.

The short Latin Acts commence with the words: "Facta persecutione sub Valeriano et Gallieno, comprehensi sunt uenerabiles uiri iuuenes, Saturus et Saturninus, duo fratres, Reuocatus et Felicitas soror eius, et Perpetua, quae erat," &c. The Greek text begins with two titles, the first of which is a mere heading, correcting the false date of the second and earlier title from *νόλαις Φευρουαρίαις* to *τῇ πρὸ τεσσάρων νονῶν Φευρουαρίων*, and adding *εὐλόγησον*, the ejaculation of the Reader. But the second is a complete sentence, as though it were intended to serve as the commencement of the Martyrdom: *Ἐπὶ Οὐαλεριάνου καὶ Γαλιηνοῦ διωγμὸς ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾧ ἐμαρτύρησαν οἱ ἅγιοι Σάτυρος, Σατουρνίλος, Ῥεουκάτος, Περπετούα, Φηλικητάτη, νόλαις Φευρουαρίαις*. After this commences the translation of the Long Latin Martyrdom.

Now the correspondence between this sentence and the commencement of the Short Latin is very striking. We have (1) the same mistake as to the emperors, (2) the phrase 'persecution arose,' (3) the first place given to Saturus in the list of martyrs, (4) the omission of Secundulus.

It is hard to explain these coincidences except on the hypothesis that the Greek is a direct translation of Latin words prefixed to the Martyrdom in the copy used by the translator: and that the Latin abbreviator found the same words in his copy, and

modified them (1) by inserting 'comprehensi' and 'iuuenes,' from 'apprehensi' and 'adolescentes' at the beginning of c. ii.; (2) by introducing 'duo fratres' and 'soror eius,' perhaps from his own imagination; (3) by placing Perpetua last, in order to run on with the fuller description of her which he has drawn from c. ii.

Moreover we can explain in this way how the Greek translator has come by his wrong date, the nones of February. 'Nonis Martiis' still survives in the title of C, and it is found at the close of the Short Latin. This is the unvarying date of the Commemoration in the west, and indeed it is retained in the old Syriac Martyrology (see below, p. 23). But the Greek date was the second of February¹. He seems therefore to have taken his day from the Latin heading; whilst he, or a subsequent copyist of his work, has altered the month from a recollection of his own calendar.

I have already referred to the puzzling insertion in the Greek of the words ἐν πόλει θουκριτάνων (sic)² τῇ μικροτέρᾳ, and have noticed their correspondence with the words 'in ciuitate Turbitana' in the heading of C. They correspond still more closely with 'in ciuitate Turbitanorum,' which is the reading of many early MSS. of the Short Latin: and τῇ μικροτέρᾳ no doubt points to an original 'minore,' which may have been afterwards neglected as unnecessary, or may have fallen out after '-norum' (TURBITANORVMMINORE).

In c. ii. Perpetua's age is given thus by our various authorities:

Erat autem ipsa circiter annorum uiginti duo, A.

Erat autem ipsa annorum circiter uiginti et duo, B.

Ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἐτῶν εἴκοσι δύο.

Annorum enim erat illa duorum et uiginti, *Short Latin*.

¹ The Commemoration of both Trypho and Perpetua is placed on Feb. 1 in the Menaeum; probably to keep Feb. 2 clear for the Feast of the Purification. But in the Basilian Menology (see below, p. 21) both of these saints are commemorated on Feb. 2.

² In the Menaeum (see below, p. 21) we find Θουβριτάνων, which in MSS. which used the u-shaped β would be almost undistinguishable from Θουκριτάνων. In the account of the 7th Council of Carthage by Joh. Zonaras (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* iii. 1090) we read of Θήδατος ἀπὸ Θουρβῶν. In the Latin (*ibid.* p. 1062) it is 'Sedatus a Tuburbo.'

It seems probable that the ancestor of the BCg group, with which our theory connects the Short Latin, had omitted 'circiter' from the text, but had retained it in the margin. It reappears in a new place in B, but it is lost altogether in the Greek Version, and in the Short Latin.

At the close of Perpetua's first interview with her father we read:

<i>Long Latin.</i>	<i>Short Latin.</i>	<i>Greek Version.</i>
Tunc pater motus hoc uerbo, mittit se in me ut oculos mihi erueret: sed uexauit tantum et profecto (<i>profectus</i> BC) est uictus cum argumentis diaboli.	Tunc pater eius audito hoc uerbo irruit super eam, uolens oculos eius eruere; et exclamans confusus egressus est foras.	Τότε ὁ πατήρ μου παραχθεις τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ ἐπελθὼν ἤθ' ἔλησεν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μου ἐξορύξαι· ἔπειτα μόνον κράξας ἐξῆλθεν νικηθεις μετὰ τῶν τοῦ διαβόλου μηχανῶν.

Here we may note the correspondence of 'uolens' and ἠθέλησεν, and more especially of 'exclamans' and κράξας. The latter may point to a misreading of 'uexauit' as 'uocauit.' B is in confusion here, reading 'uexauero': the reading of C is not recorded. 'Profectus' of B and C reappears as ἐξῆλθεν and 'egressus est foras'.¹

In c. vii. we have noticed the loss of the name 'Getae' from BCg. Corresponding to this we read in the Short Latin in one place 'in Caesaris natale,' and in another 'die natali Caesaris'; but Geta's name is absent.

In c. xviii. we read as follows:

<i>Long Latin.</i>	<i>Short Latin.</i>	<i>Greek Version.</i>
Lotura post partum baptismo secundo.	De lauacione post partum balnei sanguinis effusione meruit relauari.	Μέλλουσα λούσασθαι μετὰ τὸν τοκετὸν βαπτισμῷ δευτέρῳ, τουτέστι τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι.

Here it would seem as though 'baptismo secundo' had evoked a marginal gloss, which was adopted as a correction by the abbreviator, and incorporated as an addition by the Greek translator.

¹ In one of the preceding sentences, 'Pater, inquam, uidens uerbi gratia' &c., the reading of B is 'uidens': and it can hardly be a mere coincidence that 'uidens' appears in the same sentence in some of the oldest MSS. of the Short Latin.

But by far the most remarkable modification which the Greek has in common with the Short Latin is found in Perpetua's first Vision (c. iv.). Here the Greek translator tells us that the ladder was so narrow that no one could go up, save only one by himself alone¹. He then leaves out the epithet 'prior,' which was applied to Saturus and which suggested that he was not the only one to climb: and presently he omits the words 'et ascendi,' and so leaves Perpetua to find her garden at the ladder's foot. It cannot be a mere coincidence that in this he is in complete harmony with the Short Latin Acts. It will make the matter clearer, and at the same time serve to illustrate the loose way in which the abbreviator has dealt with his materials, if we transcribe the three documents at this point in full.

Long Latin.

Video scalam aeream mirae magnitudinis pertingentem usque ad caelum, et angustam: per quam nonnisi singuli ascendere possent: et in lateribus scalae omne genus ferramentorum infixum. Erant ibi gladii, lanceae, hami, macherae: ut si quis neglegenter aut non sursum adtendens ascenderet, laniaretur, et carnes eius inhaererent ferramentis. Et erat sub ipsa scala draco cubans mirae magnitudinis, qui ascendentibus insidias praestabat, et exterrebat ne ascenderent. Ascendit autem Saturus *prior*, qui postea se propter nos ultro tradiderat, quia ipse nos aedificauerat et tunc cum

Short Latin.

Vidi in visu hac nocte scalam aeream mirabili altitudine usque ad caelum, et ita erat angusta ut nonnisi *unus* per eam ascendere posset. *Dextra* uero *laeuaque* inerant fixi *cultri* et gladii ferrei, ut nullus circa se nisi ad caelum respicere posset. Sub ea uero iacebat latens draco teterrimus ingenti forma, ut prae metu eius quivis ascendere *formidaret*. Vidi etiam ascendentem per eam Saturum usque ad sursum, et respicientem ad nos et dicentem: Ne uereamini hunc draconem qui iacet; confortamini ingrati Christi, ascendite et nolite timere, ut mecum partem habere possitis. Vidi etiam *iuxta*

Greek Version.

Εἶδον κλίμακα χαλκῇν θαυμαστοῦ μήκου· ἧς τὸ μήκος ἄχρις οὐρανοῦ στενὴ δὲ ἦν, ὥς μηδὲνα δι' αὐτῆς δύνασθαι εἰ μὴ μοναχὸν ἓνα ἀναβῆναι· ἐξ ἐκατέρων δὲ τῶν τῆς κλίμακος μερῶν πάν εἶδος ἦν ἐμπεπηγμένον ἐκεῖ ξίφων, δοράτων, ἀγκίστρων, μαχαίρων, ὀβελίσκων· ἵνα πᾶς ὁ ἀναβαίνων ἀμελῶς καὶ μὴ ἀναβλέπων τοῖς ἀκοντίοις τὰς σάρκας σπαραχθεῖη· ἦν δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῇ τῇ κλίμακι δράκων ὑπερμεγέθης, ὃς δὴ τοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας ἐνῆδρευεν, ἐκθαμβῶν ὅπως μὴ τολμῶσιν ἀναβαίνειν. ἀνέβη δὲ ὁ Σάτυρος· ὃς δὴ ὕστερον δι' ἡμᾶς ἐκὼν παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν· αὐτοῦ γὰρ καὶ οἰκοδομὴ ἦμεν· ἀλλ' ὅτε συνελήφθημεν ἀπῆν· ὥς

¹ Apparently *μοναχὸς εἷς* in this place means 'one man at a time,' and not 'one monk'; but it must be admitted that the translator has been unfortunate in his choice of so ambiguous an expression.

adducti sumus praesens non fuerat. Et peruenit in caput scalae, et conuertit se et dixit mihi: Perpetua, sustineo te: sed uide ne te mordeat draco ille. Et dixi ego: Non me nocebit, in nomine Iesu Christi. Et desub ipsa scala quasi timens me lente eiecit caput: et *quasi* primum gradum *calcarem*, calcaui illi caput. *Et ascendi*, et uidi spatium immensum horti, etc.

scalam hortum ingentem, copiosissimum et amoenum, etc.

οὖν πρὸς τὸ ἄκρον τῆς κλίμακος παρεγένετο, ἐστράφη καὶ εἶπεν· Περπετούα, περιμένω σε· ἀλλὰ βλέπε μή σε ὁ δράκων δάκη. καὶ εἶπον· Οὐ μή με βλάψῃ ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. καὶ ὑποκάτω τῆς κλίμακος ὥσει φοβούμενός με ἡρέμα τὴν κεφαλὴν προσήνεγκεν· καὶ ὡς εἰς τὸν πρῶτον βαθμὸν ἤθ' ἔλῃσα ἐπιβῆναι, τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπάτησα. καὶ εἶδον ἐκεῖ κήπον μέγιστον, κ.τ.λ.

It seems then that the Greek translator considered that Perpetua's triumph consisted in treading on the dragon's head, and not in climbing the ladder: and that he was led to conceive of the garden, as the writer of the Short Acts has also apparently done¹, as being at the foot of the ladder (ἐκεῖ, 'iuxta scalam') and not at its summit.

The Sarum Breviary is a good instance of the use which was made of the work of the Latin abbreviator. There we find it distributed into three lections, as follows: (1) 'Facta itaque persecutione—egressus est foras'; (2) 'Orantes uero—dignos esse effectos.' (3) 'Videns uero proconsul—in saecula saeculorum. Amen.' So that nothing is omitted, except the miserable altercation between the Martyrs and their judge. It is of course open to us to suppose that this was itself a later interpolation; but the style of it is too like the rest to favour this view.

The old Roman Breviary (quoted by Holsten, p. 72) contains the same matter, though in a somewhat embellished form. But from the later Roman Breviaries our Martyrs have been ousted altogether by S. Thomas Aquinas.

¹ In the Sarum Breviary we have the interesting variant 'circa scalam,' which may at any rate shew the interpretation that would naturally be put on the Short Latin in this place.

It is interesting to trace the struggle between the competing commemorations in the local Breviaries. Thus in the copy in the Cambridge University Library of the very rare printed Breviary of Upsala (Stockholm, 1496) we find SS. Perpetua and Felicitas with a collect in the text, but S. Thomas is written in at the side as 'eodem die,' and his collect runs round the margin. In the Calendar of the Roman Breviary of 1728 S. Thomas is entered on July 15 ('canoniz. 1323'), but with a cross reference to March 7, where he is found in brackets after our Martyrs.

In the Breviary of Quimper in Brittany (Paris, 1835) they still hold their own unchallenged; and the lection is a really admirable abbreviation of the Long Latin, without a single mistake or unworthy alteration, and with the simple addition of the true date and locality: 'sub Seuero Imperatore, Carthagine in Africa.' This same lection in a slightly corrupted form is found also in the Breviary of Rennes (1822).

The Greek day of the Commemoration is now (see p. 17 n.) the first of February, and under this date in the *Menaeum* we find a brief lection, which wrongly describes Perpetua as ἐκ πόλεως Θουβριτάνων τῆς Ἀφρικῆς, but rightly states that she and Felicitas were tossed by a mad cow: so that it must be independent of the Short Acts.

In the *Menology* of Basil we find a double entry, which is interesting in connection with the transference of the festival. Under March 14 we have after S. Eusebion of Lampsacus and before S. Alexander of Pydna: καὶ ἄθλησις τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων Σατύρου, Σατουρνίλου, Πευκάτου, Περπετούας, καὶ Φιληκιτάτης ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μαρτυρησάντων. The writer was no doubt misled as to the locality by the absence of any definite statement in the Longer Latin which he had used in his previous entry. Under February 2 we have a most extraordinary mutilation of the story, which is worth reproducing in full, as it illustrates the controversy between East and West on the subject of Purgatory.

Ἀθλησις τῶν ἁγίων Περπετούας, Σατύρου, Πευκάτου, Σατουρνίλου, Σεκούνδου καὶ Φιλικιτάτης.

Ἡ τοῦ χριστοῦ μάρτυς Περπετούα ἦν ἐκ τῆς χώρας Ἀφρικῆς· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν χριστὸν ὡμολόγει, κρατηθεῖσα παρὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων προσήχθη τῇ τῆς χώρας ἄρχοντι μετὰ τῶν λοιπῶν ἁγίων. ἦν δὲ

τῇ ἁγίᾳ βρέφος ὑπομάζιον καὶ ἀδελφὸς ὄνομα Δεινοκράτης. τιμωροῦνται οὖν παρὰ τοῦ ἄρχοντος. εἶτα ἐμβάλλονται εἰς φυλακὴν. καὶ θεωρεῖ ἡ ἁγία κατ' ὄναρ σκάλαν χαλκὴν φθάνουσαν ἀπὸ γῆς εἰς οὐρανὸν, ἔχουσιν εἰς τὰ δύο μέρη ἐμπεπηγμένα πάντα τὰ τῶν κολαστηρίων εἶδη· καὶ δράκοντα ὑπὸ τὴν σκάλαν κωλύοντα τοὺς ἀναβαίνοντας· καὶ τὸν ἅγιον Σατύρον ἀναβάντα καὶ στραφέντα πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ λέγοντα· Μῆτέρ μου Περπετούα, περιμένω σε. ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς ἐν ἐτέρᾳ φυλακῇ· καὶ ὁρᾷ καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι παρίστατο λεκάνη ὕδατος· καὶ ἀνελὼν ἔπιεν ἐξ αὐτῆς· καὶ ἔγνω ὅτι ἐτελεύτησε. καὶ τὸ πρῶτ' αὐτὴ μὲν μετὰ Φηλικιτάτης ὑπὸ δαμάλεων ἀγρίων κερατισθεῖσαι ἀπέθανον· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἐσφάγησαν.

The use of *σκάλαν*, and not *κλίμακα*, as well as other differences in the Greek words, points to the fact that this summary is independent of the Greek version.

Were our Martyrs Thuburbitan?

In the original Latin Passion of S. Perpetua, as contained in the Monte Cassino codex, no locality whatever is assigned to the Martyrs. This is natural enough in a contemporary document intended for the use of the African Church, especially if the Martyrs belonged to Carthage and suffered there. Indeed the omission in itself suggests that they were Carthaginians¹. This view is confirmed by the statement of Victor Vitensis that their remains rested in a Basilica at Carthage which bore their names. After speaking of the desolation wrought by the Vandals among the public buildings of Carthage generally, he goes on to say: 'Et ut de necessariis loquar, basilicam maiorem ubi corpora sanctarum martyrum Perpetuae atque Felicitatis sepulta sunt, Celerinae uel Scilitanorum et alias quas non destruxerunt, suae religioni licentia tyrannica mancipauerunt' (Vict. Vit. i. 3 § 9). This of course does not preclude the possibility of their having been brought from another town to suffer at Carthage, as was the case with the Scillitan Martyrs.

¹ The silence of S. Augustine, who frequently refers to our Martyrs, is capable of the same interpretation: see below, p. 24.

Moreover in the old Roman Calendar¹ which goes back to the time of Liberius in the middle of the fourth century, we read simply: 'Nonis Martii, Perpetuae et Felicitatis Africae.' In Prosper's *Chronicon* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 51, p. 566) under the head of the Fifth Persecution, in the time of Severus, we have: 'Qua tempestate Perpetua et Felicitas pro Christo passae sunt, nonis Martiis, apud Carthaginem Africae in castris bestiis deputatae Antonino II. et Geta.' This notice reappears almost word for word in Bede, *De sex aetat.* (Ed. Basil. 1563, II. 185). And other authorities might be cited in the same sense².

The old Carthaginian Calendar, discovered by Mabillon in the binding of a book and published by him with annotations in his *Vetera Analecta*³, unfortunately fails us at this point. It begins with 'xiii Kal. Maias' and ends with 'xiiii Kal. Mart.,' so that the nones of March are not contained in it. Mabillon says that this is because during Lent no such festivals were celebrated in the African Church: Ruinart thinks that we have not the whole of the Calendar.

Thus far then we have no indication that the Martyrs were Thuburbitan. But in a short Roman Martyrology (Holst. p. 60) we read: ‘Nonis Martii, In Mauritania ciuitate Tuburbitanorum SS. Martyrum Perpetuae et Felicitatis.’ This notice is found elsewhere; and in the Martyrology included in Bede’s works (Ed. Basil. 1563, III. 397) it is combined with further statements and

¹ Commonly called the Bucherian after its discoverer, Bouchier: printed by Ruin. p. 617.

² See *Acta Bolland.* under Mar. 7, and *Analecta Bolland.* ii. 16, where in the *Martyrol. Trevirense* we find: '[Non.] Mar. Africa passio Perpetuae. Felicitatis. Saturi.' For the Basilian Menology see above, p. 21. The Syriac Martyrology published by Dr Wright from the old Nitrian MS. in the British Museum (*Journ. of Sac. Lit.* vol. viii. N. S. pp. 45—56, 423—432) gives the following entry, which is especially interesting as being almost the only mention of a Western Martyrdom which finds a place here:

॥ ॐ नमो भगवते वासुदेवाय ॥
 ॥ श्रीगणेशाय नमः ॥

Translated by Dr Wright : 'Adār (March) 7. In Africa, of the number of the ancients, Perpetua, Saturninus (MS. Saturnilus), and ten other Confessors.'

³ III. 398. The Calendar without the notes is given by Ruin. pp. 618 f., and with additional notes by Münter, *Prim. Eccl. Afr.* pp. 251 ff.

among them the date 'sub Seuero principe'; and the whole entry is reproduced in Ado under March 7¹.

It is to be observed that in all these notices the date, if given at all, is given correctly. But now a new confusion awaits us. In the Roman Martyrology published by Galesinius (Holst. p. 74) we have as the locality 'Thuburbæ in Mauritania,' and as the date 'Valeriano et Galieno imperatoribus.' On this Galesinius remarks that though the statement is to be found elsewhere, yet 'ueteres emendatioresque rei Ecclesiasticæ annales aliter ostendunt; quorum auctoritatem secuti reponimus, Septimio Seuero imp. anno scilicet Christi cciix, Antonino II et Geta Consulibus².'

This is just the confusion which meets us in the Short Latin Acts and in the Greek version of the Long Latin. How are we to account for it?

In the old Carthaginian Calendar we have the following entry: 'III Kal. Ag. Sanctarum Tuburbitanarum et Septimiae.' And in Ado's Roman Martyrology (and, with variations, elsewhere) under the same date: 'Apud Africam, ciuitate Tuburbo Lucernariæ, natale sanctarum uirginum Maximæ, Donatillæ et Secundæ: quæ persecutione Gallieni sub Anolino iudice passæ sunt,' &c., &c. Thus the Thuburbitan Martyrs are Maxima, Donatilla and Secunda, and they suffer under Anulinus in the persecution of Gallienus.

Together with this we may set the fact that S. Augustine, who does not mention these famous Martyrs by their names, speaks of the festival of the Thuburbitan Martyrs³ in a sermon *De Contemptu Mundi* (Ed. Ben. v. 1338, note b) first published by Sirmondi. Now although S. Augustine never connects S. Perpetua and her companions with Tuburbo, yet Sirmondi at once identified the Thuburbitan Martyrs with them. Perhaps the mistake was made by others long before, and may even have been the source of the whole confusion.

¹ Compare the confused entries in *Martyrol. Fuldense* (*Anal. Boll.* i. 9), and in the Hieronymian *Martyrol. ex cod. Bernensi* (Brux. 1881), where some of the same names are repeated three times in the entry, and we have: 'In Mauritania ciuitate Turpitanorum passio SS. Perpetuæ et Felicitatis.'

² But Antoninus II. and Geta = 205, whereas Antoninus III. and Geta II. = 208.

³ To add to our perplexity there is a variant here: *Suburbitanarum*.

When we examine the story of the Thuburbitan Martyrs as given by Ado (July 30), we find great reason to doubt its genuineness. For, in the first place, they cannot have suffered in the reign of Gallienus at all. For in the *Acta Crispinae* (Ruin. p. 450) the proconsul Anulinus mentions their names to Crispina, as being her 'consortes,' and threatens that she shall suffer as they have already suffered. But these Acts mention Diocletian and Maximian as the reigning emperors; and this must be the right date for Anulinus¹.

Moreover their whole story bears a suspicious resemblance to that of S. Perpetua and her companions. Thus, they are exposed to the beasts, they kiss each other in the arena 'to complete the martyrdom with the peace²,' and because the bear refuses to injure them they are put to the sword.

I would venture therefore to suggest that there has been complete confusion between our Martyrs and the Thuburbitans of July 30, whose names only seem to have survived and whose story had to be written down from imagination. The Thuburbitans gave their locality and their own false date (Gallienus) to our Martyrs³, and received in turn some of the details of our Passion.

¹ Tuscus and Anulinus were consuls in 295. Optatus Milevitanus refers to Anulinus as a persecutor under Diocletian (*c. Donat.* III. p. 76, ed. Paris, 1676: 'in provincia proconsulari...Annulinus, in Numidia Florus').

There were the 'dies turificationis,' C. I. L. *Afr.* 6700. The earlier Anulinus, the general of Severus, was consul in 199, and also proconsul of Africa, *ibid.* 1170. We find Anulinus as a persecutor very frequently: e.g. in the Passion of Felix, *Ruin.* p. 356; of Saturninus and Dativus, *Ruin.* p. 383; of Mammarius, Mabillon, *Vet. Anal.* iv. 93; of the Alatinensian Martyrs, *ibid.* iv. 104, and even in Italy and in the time of Nero in the obviously fictitious Greek acts of Nazarius and Gervasius, Migne, *Symeon Metaphr.* III. 895.

² 'Quae cum inducerentur, in media arena osculatae sunt se inuicem, ut martyrium pace complerent.' Compare *Perp.* c. xxi., 'ante iam osculati inuicem, ut martyrium per solemnia pacis consummarent.'

³ This was the more easily done because the original Latin Passion seems to have given no locality and no date for the Martyrdom, if we except the incidental notice, 'natale tunc Getae Caesaris.' The name of Geta moreover survives only in Holsten's MS. It is quite conceivable that it was erased in some copies almost at once in consequence of the well-known action of Caracalla. Compare Dio 77. 12 (quoted by Clinton): *εἰ τις ἔγραψε τὸ ὄνομα τὸ τοῦ Γέτα μόνον, ἢ εἶπε μόνον, εὐθὺς ἀπώλετο· ὅθεν οὐδ' ἐν ταῖς κωμωδίας οἱ ποιηταὶ ἐτι αὐτῷ ἐχρῶντο.* Even if persecution had ceased, it would still be dangerous to recite the name of Geta in commemorating the Martyrs.

Another consideration which may shake our belief in the assignment of our Martyrs to Thuburbo is the frequently repeated phrase 'Mauritania in ciuitate Tuburbitanarum.' For although there are two towns in proconsular Africa within a radius of forty miles from Carthage called respectively Thuburbo Maius and Thuburbo Minus, we have no evidence of any town of that name in the Mauritanian district. So that we may regard the whole statement as probably the fiction of a later time.

If the account of the matter which I have here suggested is a reasonable one, it will be at least hazardous henceforward to speak of S. Perpetua and her companions as Thuburbitan Martyrs¹.

*The influence of the Shepherd of Hermas upon the Visions
of the Martyrs.*

It is a familiar experience with us all that our dreams can frequently be traced back to thoughts which have been present to our waking moments; and that their materials, in whatever strange combinations they may present themselves, are derived largely, if not exclusively, from our recollections. If therefore it should appear on examination that many of the details in the Visions of the African Martyrs may have been suggested by the Shepherd of Hermas, we shall not for that reason be tempted to question their genuineness, unless it can at the same time be further shewn that the phraseology in which they are narrated bears a suspiciously close relation to that of Hermas.

Before entering on this enquiry it may be well to note to what extent the Visions are indebted to narratives contained in the Canonical Scriptures. We can scarcely doubt that the Ladder in Perpetua's first Vision was suggested by the story of Jacob's Dream. Compare the words of Perpetua, 'Video scalam aeream mirae magnitudinis pertingentem usque ad caelum,' with Gen.

¹ The epithet was challenged by Valois in his preface to the Passion of S. Perpetua, and has also been rejected by Münter (*Prim. Eccl. Afr.* p. 208) and recently by Pillet, who quotes with satisfaction from the Letters Apostolic of Leo XIII., who, in restoring the 'Apostolic Chair' of Carthage in 1884, refers to the Martyrs as Carthaginians (*Histoire de Sainte Perpétue*, p. 66).

xxviii. 12, Vulg.¹ 'Viditque in somnio scalam stantem super terram, et cacumen illius tangens caelum.' It is interesting in this connection to recall a passage in the Acts of Montanus and Lucius, which are a base imitation of our Martyrdom, where the message of the Lord in the Vision of Victor is: 'Dic illis signum Iacobi' (Ruin. p. 232).

Again, in the Vision in which she first sees Dinocrates, we read: 'Et inter me et illum grande erat diastema, ita ut uterque ad inuicem accedere non possemus.' With this we naturally compare S. Luc. xvi. 26, Vulg. 'Inter nos et uos chaos magnum firmatum est: ut hi qui uolunt hinc transire ad uos non possint, neque inde huc transmeare.'

Again in the Vision of her conflict with the Egyptian we have obvious reminiscences of Gen. iii. The Egyptian, whom afterwards she knows to be the devil, rolls himself in the dust, and presently endeavours to catch her by the feet; but she tramples upon his head. Here we have the conflict between the Woman and the Serpent, and perhaps even a testimony to the antiquity of the rendering: '*ipsa* conteret caput tuum, et tu insidiaberis calcaneo eius.' Nor is it unreasonable to combine with this the appearance of the devil in the first Vision as a dragon 'qui ascendentibus insidias praestabat.'

In the Vision of Saturus we have the snow-white hair of the Lord (cf. Apoc. i. 14) and the elders, '*seniores*,' standing round Him; and '*stolae candidae*' and '*stetimus ante thronum*,' answering to '*stantes ante thronum amicti stolis albis*' in Apoc. vii. 9. It is possible even that the strange phrase '*et de manu sua traiecit nobis in faciem*' may have been suggested by the last words of the same chapter; '*et absterget Deus omnem lacrimam ab oculis eorum*.'

But there still remain a multitude of details, which must have been suggested by something which the Martyrs had either heard or read, and for the origin of many of which I believe that we must look to the Shepherd of Hermas.

¹ The question of the Latin Version used in Africa at this time has no clear light thrown upon it by the words of our Martyrs themselves, although something perhaps may be learned from the quotations of the redactor. I have given the Vulgate renderings for obvious reasons of convenience.

Thus in her first Vision Perpetua sees beneath the Ladder a dragon of wondrous size, who endeavours to terrify those who would climb. Satorus, having climbed, turns and says to her: 'Perpetua, I wait for thee: but see that that dragon bite thee not.' She replies: 'He shall not hurt me, in the name of Jesus Christ.' 'And from underneath the ladder as if in fear of me he gently put out his head; and as though I were treading on the first step, I trod on his head.' When she reaches the top she is greeted with the words: 'Thou hast well come, my child' (Bene uenisti).

Hermas sees in his fourth Vision 'a very great beast, a hundred feet in length' and with a strange head (*θηρίον μέγιστον ὥσεί κητός τι...τῷ μήκει ὥσεί ποδῶν ρ'*. τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν εἶχεν ὡς κεράμου¹. Vis. iv. l. 6). 'And I began to weep and to ask the Lord that He would deliver me from him. And I remembered the word which I had heard (it had been spoken to him mysteriously just before), Hermas be not of doubtful mind...and I boldly presented myself to the beast...I come nigh to him; and that huge monster stretches himself out on the ground, and does nothing but put out his tongue.' Immediately after this the Church meets him in the guise of a Virgin, and he relates to her his escape from the beast. 'Thou hast well escaped' (*καλῶς ἐξέφευγες*), she says, 'because thou didst cast thy care on God and open thy heart to the Lord, believing that by none other canst thou be saved, but only through the great and glorious Name.' He is then charged with a message to the Lord's elect to 'tell them that this beast is a type of the great tribulation which is about to come,' but which through repentance and faith they may be able to escape.

In the Garden near the top of the ladder Perpetua finds a tall Man with white hair, in a shepherd's dress ('in habitu pastoris'), milking sheep. This no doubt is intended for the Lord, and, when we remember how often the figure of the Shepherd occurs in Christian literature and art, we shall not be willing to press too closely the parallel of Hermas's Shepherd. But it is worth noticing that it is in the very next Vision to the one we have mentioned that Hermas for the first time is introduced to his

¹ If we could accept Hilgenfeld's ingenious emendation *κεράστου*, 'a horned serpent,' the parallel would be still closer.

Shepherd, whom he describes as ἀνὴρ τις ἑνδοξος τῇ ὁψεί, σχήματι ποιμενικῷ (Vis. v. 1).

In Perpetua's second Vision she sees her brother Dinocrates, who had died of a gangrene in the face at the age of seven years, in a dark place, dirty and pale and with the wound still in his face. He is moreover hot and thirsty, and is vainly trying to get at the water of a font ('piscina,' κολυμβήθρα) whose rim is above his head. The boy no doubt had died unbaptised¹, and this was the cause of his appearing to be in a place of torment. 'Piscina' in its ecclesiastical use at once suggests a baptismal font, and although the boy is represented as anxious to quench his thirst this does not prevent us from interpreting his real need as that of baptism.

In a later Vision she sees him, in answer to her prayers, cleansed, well clothed and refreshed: only the scar of the old wound is to be seen: the rim of the font is lowered to the boy's waist; and he drinks water out of a golden goblet that never fails. His need was supplied and he departed from the water 'to play in the manner of children with great delight. Then I understood that he was released from punishment' ('Tunc intellexi translatus eum esse de poena').

Now in the third Vision of Hermas we have the first account of the Building of the Tower; and, among the stones which are rejected, we hear of 'some falling into fire and being burned; and others falling near to water, and not able to roll into the water, although they wish to roll and come into the water' (Vis. iii. 2. 9). It is explained later (iii. 7. 3) that 'these are they that have heard the word and wish to be baptised into the name of the Lord,' but their baptism is prevented by their own unsteadfast-

¹ It is fair to state that this view is directly challenged and contradicted by S. Augustine (*De Anima ad Renatum* i. 10). But he could only argue from the probabilities of the case, and moreover he was blinded by the desire to dispose of a disagreeable objection. It is most improbable that in a pagan household a boy of seven years old should have been baptised even if his sister were a Christian at the time of his death; and of this we have no evidence whatever: indeed she was probably a recent convert, and was only a Catechumen at the time of her arrest. S. Augustine's suggestion that the child was old enough to tell lies, and so though baptised to need a period of torture after death, is a mournful illustration of the straits to which a good man may be driven by the exigencies of controversy.

ness. There is still a hope for the rejected ones; but only 'when they have been tormented...and then (if they repent) it shall happen to them to be released from their torments' (*μετατεθῆναι ἐκ τῶν βασάνων αὐτῶν*).

In the ninth Similitude we have great stress laid on the necessity of the water, or the seal (*ἡ σφραγὶς οὖν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐστίν*): and we are distinctly told of some who have received it after death. (Sim. ix. 15. 5 *οἱ ἀπόστολοι καὶ οἱ διδάσκαλοι, ... κοιμηθέντες... ἐκήρυξαν καὶ τοῖς προκεκοιμημένοις, καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔδωκαν αὐτοῖς τὴν σφραγίδα τοῦ κηρύγματος. κατέβησαν οὖν μετ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ὕδωρ, κ.τ.λ.*)

Passing on to Perpetua's last Vision (c. x.) we find Pomponius the deacon coming to her in a white robe and with 'manifold shoes' ('*multiplies galliculas*'). He conducts her to the amphitheatre and departs with the words: "Fear not; I am here with thee, and suffer along with thee." After this comes a hideous Egyptian with his attendants to fight with her. Then 'there come to me beautiful young men, as my attendants and supporters. And I am stripped and turned into a man: and my supporters begin to rub me down with oil, as they do for the games: and I see that Egyptian on the other hand rolling in the dust. And there came forth a man of wondrous size, so as even to reach above the top of the amphitheatre...having also manifold shoes, made of gold and silver ('*galliculas multifformes ex auro et argento factas*'), and bearing a rod like a trainer ('*quasi lanista*'), and a green bough, on which were golden apples.' She wrestles and fights with the Egyptian, and at last throws him and treads upon his face. Then she comes and receives the bough, and begins 'to go with glory to the *porta Sanauuaria* (a sort of Gate of Life, mentioned later on in the actual history of her martyrdom). And I awoke, and understood that it was not with beasts but against the devil that I was to fight. But I knew that victory was mine.'

The appearance of Pomponius in a glorified form, with the promise to be with her in her struggle against the devil, may be compared with the promise of the Angel of Repentance to Hermas, "Fear ye not the devil, for there is no power in him against you: for I will be with you...The devil can wrestle against you, but wrestle you down he cannot." (Mand. xii. 4. 6, 7 and 5. 2, *μὴ φοβήθητε*

τὸν διάβολον...δύναται ὁ διάβολος ἀντιπαλαῖσαι, καταπαλαῖσαι δὲ οὐ δύναται).

Sprinkling with sand or dust after being anointed was a common practice in the games; but in Perpetua's mind it is no doubt connected with the language of Genesis iii.¹: and the influence of this passage, as we have seen, is further to be traced when the Egyptian tries to take her by the feet, and she at last tramples on his head.

The beautiful young men who come to support her, together with the extraordinary stature of the man who appears as the trainer, may be paralleled from Herm. Sim. ix. 6. 1 where we have a man of lofty stature, overtopping the Tower, surrounded by others who are 'glorious.' He also has a rod in his hand, with which he tests all the stones of the building (*ἀνὴρ τις ὑψηλὸς τῷ μεγέθει, ὥστε τὸν πύργον ὑπερέχειν*).

The beautiful shoes, observed in two instances in Perpetua's Vision, have a curious counterpart in the 'white shoes' of the Church when she appears to Hermas after he has escaped the Beast (Vis. iv. 2. 1). Once more, in the eighth Similitude various people are given rods 'by a glorious angel of the Lord, exceeding tall.' These he presently examines. Then he commands crowns to be brought forth, 'and he crowned the men who shewed up their rods with buds upon them and some fruit as well, and dismissed them to the Tower.' Presently Hermas asks the Shepherd, "Who are they that are crowned and go to the Tower?" and is told, "As many as wrestled against the devil and wrestled him down are crowned: these are they who suffered on behalf of the Name." Similarly in the ninth Similitude those stones which come from the eleventh mountain, 'where are trees full of fruits, adorned one tree with this fruit and another with that...are they who suffered for the name of the Son of God...they are all glorious with God...but they who suffered willingly, these are more exceeding glorious with the Lord: for their fruit it is that excelleth.' Of such a company would Perpetua be with her golden apples going with glory to the Gate of Life.

When we come on to the Vision of Saturus the same phenomena

¹ So in Herm. Vis. iv. 1. 5 the Beast comes with a great dust, on which much stress is laid.

meet us¹. After death he finds himself together with Perpetua 'being borne away by four Angels to the East: and their hand touched us not.' Now at the close of Hermas's first vision the Woman who represents the Church is carried away, as her chair had already been carried away, to the East. She is taken by the arms by two men who are afterwards described as Angels (Vis. i. 4. 3 *ἡραν αὐτὴν τῶν ἀγκώνων καὶ ἀπῆλθαν...πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολήν*). The emphasis on the method of carriage may perhaps be compared with the statement of Saturus, 'But we went not on our backs heads downward (*ibamus autem non supini sursum uersi*'), but as though we were climbing a gentle slope.' But perhaps this was suggested by the contrast with their position as they lay in the stocks (cf. c. viii.).

When Saturus and Perpetua reach the Garden above they are met by four more glorious Angels, and are bidden to 'go in and salute the Lord.' They come then to a place, 'whose walls were such, as though they were built of light: and before the door of that place stood four Angels, who clothed those who entered in with white robes.'

Now in the ninth Similitude of Hermas there stand around the gate of the Tower twelve Maidens: 'but the four that stood at the corners seemed to me to be more glorious.' It was the part of the Maidens to carry the stones through the Gate for the building of the Tower. Those and those only that were so brought in by the Maidens became white. Others retained their various colours, and had to be rejected (Sim. ix. 4). This is elaborated later on into wearing the vesture of the Maidens (Sim. ix. 13). 'In no other way can a man be found in the kingdom of God, except they clothe him with their clothing.' So, returning to the first metaphor, we read (Sim. ix. 17. 4), 'The building of the Tower became of one colour, bright as the Sun.'

The Martyrs found sitting within 'a Man with white hair and a youthful countenance, whose feet we did not see' (*'niueos habentem capillos et uultu iuuenili, cuius pedes non uidimus'*²).

¹ Some of the following details from the Vision of Saturus admit of explanation in connection with another source from which the main portion of his Vision seems to come: see below, pp. 38 ff.

² We may perhaps compare Herm. Vis. iii. 10. 1 *τούτων τὸ πρόσωπον οὐκ εἶδον, ὅτι ἀπεστραμμένοι ἦσαν*.

To return once more to the fourth Vision of Hermas, the Church is there described as having white hair, as well as white robes and white shoes (Vis. iv. 2. 1). And reference is made to the three preceding visions in which he had seen her in three successive forms (Vis. iii. 10): first, as very aged; secondly, with her countenance young, but her flesh and hair old (*τὴν μὲν ὄψιν νεωτέραν εἶχεν, κ.τ.λ.*); thirdly, as wholly young and beautiful, and only her hair old (*ὅλη νεωτέρα καὶ κάλλει ἐκπρεπεστάτη, μόνας δὲ τὰς τρίχας πρεσβυτέρας εἶχεν*).

In the vision of Saturus it would be easy to refer the white hair of the Lord to Apoc. i. 14; but this would not account for the strange addition ‘et uultu iuuenili,’ which however is accounted for at once if we may suppose a reminiscence of the Shepherd, where great stress is laid on the combination of newness and oldness: see again Sim. ix. 12. 1 of the Rock and the Gate.

The ‘four Elders on His right and on His left,’ and the ‘many other elders behind them,’ in the vision of Saturus, may be compared with ‘the six men who presided over the Building, and walked with Him on the right and on the left,’ while there were ‘many other glorious ones round about Him’ (Herm. Sim. ix. 6. 2).

After they had kissed the Lord, the Elders bade them, “Go and play” (*‘Ite et ludite’*). Adding to this curious command the subsequent statement, ‘we were nourished with an unspeakable odour which satisfied us’ (*‘odore inenarrabili alebamus, qui nos satiabat’*), we turn again to the Shepherd.

Hermas is left by the Shepherd under the care of the Maidens (Sim. ix. 10 f.). They treat him as their brother: ‘and she who seemed to be the first of them began to kiss me; and the others seeing her kissing me began to kiss me also, and to go round about the Tower and to play with me (*παίζειν μετ’ ἐμοῦ*). And I became as it were a young man and began myself to play with them.’ When the Shepherd returned the next morning he asked him had he supped. He replied “I supped on the words of the Lord all the night long” (*ἐδείπνησα...τὰ ῥήματα τοῦ κυρίου ὅλην τὴν νύκτα*).

Lastly, when they came out from the Presence they found ‘before the door Optatus the bishop on the right, and Aspasius the presbyter-teacher on the left, separated and sad. And they

threw themselves at our feet and said to us, "Make peace between us, for ye have gone forth and left us thus." The angels presently interfere and say, "Let these refresh themselves: and if ye have any quarrels among yourselves, forgive one another": and they say to Optatus, "Correct thy people ('corrige plebem tuam'): for so do they come to thee, as if returning from the Circus and contending about its factions." The Greek version here omits the words 'on the right,' and so sets the bishop and the presbyter on the left hand outside the door. Mr Harris thinks that the Greek is justified by the statement in Herm. Vis. iii. 1. 9 that 'the right hand is the place of others, those, to wit, who have already pleased God and have suffered for the Name.' But the words 'separated and sad' seem to require the Latin form in its fulness. Nor is it probable that the right hand place of honour would have been 'outside the door.'

But to the rebuke to the rulers of the Church for quarrelling there is more than one parallel in the Shepherd. Thus they are warned 'lest their quarrellings rob them of their life. How will they chasten the Lord's elect,' if they be not at peace among themselves? (Vis. iii. 9. 7 *νῦν οὖν ὑμῖν λέγω τοῖς προηγουμένοις τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τοῖς πρωτοκαθεδρίταις... πῶς ὑμεῖς παιδεύειν θέλετε τοὺς ἐκλεκτοὺς κυρίου, κ.τ.λ.*). Compare too the praise of those leaders of the Church, 'who were always at harmony with themselves, and had peace among themselves, and hearkened to one another.'

I think that the instances which I have adduced are sufficient to establish a strong probability that the Martyrs were familiar with the Visions of Hermas. Evidence of this kind is cumulative; and even if individual instances of comparison may seem fanciful and overstrained, yet when we recall at once Perpetua's escape from the monstrous dragon by the help of the Name; her vision of the Man in a shepherd's dress; the effort of Dinocrates to get at the water, and his subsequent release from punishment; the promise of Pomponius and the beautiful shoes; the green bough with the golden apples, and the going with glory to the Gate of Life: and then the passage of Saturus and herself, borne by four angels to the East; the four more glorious angels who clothe them

and take them in; the Man with the white hair and the youthful countenance; the kiss, and the command to go and play, and the unspeakable odour which took the place of food; the bishop and presbyter rebuked for their quarrellings—it is difficult to believe that all these details, some of which seem to cry for an explanation of some kind, are wholly independent of the striking parallels which are offered to us in the Shepherd of Hermas.

Hitherto our comparison has been made with the Greek original of the Shepherd of Hermas. It is worth while to bring together a few passages in the earlier Latin Version, which Harnack assigns to the second century, where the language has points of correspondence with that of Perpetua and Saturus. The correspondence is often slight in itself, but it gains in importance when considered in its context.

c. iv. Iam in magna dignatione es,
tanta ut postules uisionem et ostendatur tibi an...

Bene uenisti.

In habitu pastoris.

c. viii. Tunc intellexi translatum
eum esse de poena.

c. x. Et facta sum masculus.

Efferens...ramum uiridem in quo
erant mala aurea.

c. xi. Coepimus ferri a quattuor
angelis in Orientem, quorum manus
nos non tangebant.

c. xii. Niueos habentem capillos et
uultu iuuenili, cuius pedes non uidimus.

Osculati sumus illum...et dixerunt
nobis seniores: Ite et ludite.

c. xiii. Si quas habetis inter uos
dissensiones, dimittite uobis inuicem.

Herm. Vis. iv. 1 Quia me dignum
aestimauit ut ostenderet mihi mirabilia sua.

Vis. iv. 2 Bene effugisti.

Mand. proem. Habitu pastoralis.

Vis. iii. 7 Tunc illis continget
transferri de poenis.

Sim. ix. 11 Et uidebar mihi iunior
factus esse.

Sim. viii. 2. 1 Alii afferebant uirgas
suas uirides.

Vis. i. 4 Venerunt quattuor iuuenes
et tulerunt cathedram ad Orientem...
duo quidam uiri...sustulerunt illam
humeris et abierunt, ubi et cathedra
erat, ad Orientem.

Vis. iii. 10 Faciem quidem iuuenilem habebat...capillos aniles.

Ibid. (*supra*) Horum faciem non uidi.

Sim. ix. 11 Osculari me coepit...
et ipsae coeperunt me ut fratrem
osculari, et ducere circa turrim, et
ludere mecum.

Vis. iii. 9 Pacem habete alius
cum alio...et suscipite uos inuicem...
ne forte hae dissensiones uestrae
fraudent uitam uestram...Commonete
ergo uos inuicem.

These slight indications are perhaps scarcely sufficient to justify us in assuming, what is probable enough in itself, that the Martyrs used this early Latin version of the Shepherd; and it is quite possible that Perpetua may have known the book in the original Greek. The fact that the correspondence consists so much more in matters of detail than in points of language is just what we should expect if the visions are visions at all, and not literary creations of a later time. The reminiscences would primarily be those of incidents and situations; and the verbal coincidences would only come in by the way when the Visions were being related or written down. We may regard it then as fairly certain that the Shepherd of Hermas was in the hands of the African martyrs; and we may further regard it as quite conceivable that they read it in the early Latin version.

We know from Tertullian that arguments were drawn from the Shepherd in his day in matters both of Church practice and Church doctrine. He himself had a low opinion of the book¹; but it was evidently appealed to by the Anti-Montanistic section of the African Church. And the present investigation shews that others, who to say the least display what are called Montanistic tendencies and sympathies, were no less attracted by its fascinating allegories, whatever they might have thought as to its teachings on certain controverted topics. So that here we have an additional reason for believing that in the African Bible of the close of the second century, as in the Sinaitic Codex at a later period, the Shepherd of Hermas found a place at the close of the Canonical Books of the New Testament².

¹ I cannot see any sufficient ground for supposing, with Gebhardt and Harnack, *Hermæ Pastor*, prolegg. pp. xlvii. ff., that Tertullian materially changed his view in regard to the Shepherd. In the passage *De Orat.* 16 he passes no judgment whatsoever on the book, but merely meets by a common-sense reply an argument drawn from it as to the right posture in prayer. If he speaks of it as Scripture, this is only in a highly ironical sentence ('Immo contra scripturam fecerit, si quis in cathedra aut subsellio sederit'), from which it is manifestly unfair to conclude that he himself regarded it at this time with as much reverence as his opponents evidently did.

² For a full discussion of this point see the notes of Gebhardt and Harnack in the place referred to in the preceding note.

The Influence of the Apocalypse of Peter on the Vision of Saturus.

In the History of Barlaam and Josaphat (Boissonade, pp. 280 ff., 360 ff.) we find two remarkable Visions, which present so many points of contact with the Vision of Saturus, that it will be desirable to quote them here somewhat fully. On the first occasion Josaphat, having been fiercely assailed by fleshly temptations, offers a prayer for protection: he then falls asleep and has the following Vision. Ὅρα ἑαυτὸν ὑπὸ τινῶν φοβερῶν ἀρπαγέντα, καὶ τόπους οὓς οὐδέποτε ἑώρακει διελθόντα, καὶ ἐν τινι γενόμενον μεγίστην πεδιάδι ὠραίοις ἄνθεσι καὶ λίαν εὐώδεσι κομώσῃ, ἐνθα φυτὰ μὲν ἑώρα παντοδαπὰ καὶ ποικίλα, καρποῖς ξενοῖς τισὶ καὶ θαυμαστοῖς βρίθοντα, ἰδεῖν τε ἡδίστοις καὶ ἄψασθαι ποθεινοῖς. τὰ τε φύλλα τῶν δένδρων λιγυρὸν ὑπήχει αὔρα τινὶ λεπτοτάτῃ, καὶ ἀκόρεστον καὶ χαριεστάτην ἐκπέμποντα εὐωδίαν κινούμενα.... τὴν δὲ θαυμαστὴν ταύτην καὶ μεγάλην πεδιάδα οἱ φοβεροὶ ἐκείνοι διαγάγοντες αὐτὸν εἰς πόλιν εἰσήγαγον ἀρρήτῳ τινὶ λαμπρότητι ἀποστίλβουσαν, ἐκ χρυσοῦ μὲν διαυγούς τὰ τεῖχη, λίθων δὲ ὧν οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἑώρακε τὰς ἐπάλξεις ἔχουσαν ἀνεγνηγερμένας.... φῶς ἄνωθεν πυκνὰ ταῖς ἀκτῖσι διᾶττον πάσας αὐτῆς τὰς πλατείας ἐπλήρου· καὶ ὑπόπτεροί τινες στρατιαὶ, αὐτῇ ἐκάστη φῶς οὔσαι, ταύτῃ ἐπεδήμουν, μέλος ἄδουσαι ἀκοῇ βροτεῖα μηδέποτε ἀκουσθέν. καὶ φωνῆς ἤκουσε λεγούσης· Αὕτη ἡ ἀνάπαυσις τῶν δικαίων· αὕτη ἡ εὐφροσύνη τῶν εὐαρεστησάντων τῷ κυρίῳ.

After this he is carried off reluctantly to see the torments of hell, and then he awakes. Long afterwards, on the death of Barlaam, he has another Vision, which is in fact a continuation of the first. Καὶ ὅρα τοὺς φοβεροὺς ἄνδρας ἐκείνους, οὓς καὶ πρότερον ἑώρακει, ἐλθόντας πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ ἀπαγαγόντας αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν μεγίστην καὶ θαυμαστὴν ἐκείνην πεδιάδα, καὶ πρὸς τὴν δεδοξασμένην καὶ ὑπερλάμπρον εἰσαγαγόντες πόλιν. εἰσερχομένῳ δὲ αὐτῷ τὴν πύλιν ἕτεροι ὑπῆντουν πολλῷ κατηγλαῖσμένοι φωτὶ, στεφάνους ἔχοντες ἐν χερσὶν ἀρρήτῳ διαλάμποντας κάλλει καὶ οἷους ὀφθαλμοὶ οὐδέποτε βρότειοι ἐθεάσαντο. ἐρομένου δὲ τοῦ Ἰωάσαφ· Τίνος οἱ στέφανοι τῆς δόξης οἱ ὑπερλάμπροι οὓς ὁρῶ; Σὸς μὲν ὁ εἷς, ἔφησαν, κ.τ.λ. εἶπε ταῦτα, καὶ τὸν Βαρλαάμ εὐθὺς ἐδόκει βλέπειν, κ.τ.λ.

The points which specially concern us are the angelic bearers who carry him to Paradise: the very great plain covered with flowers: the city shining with unspeakable brightness and with walls of transparent gold, which he finds when he has crossed the plain: the singing of the hosts of heaven. And, in the second part, the more glorious ones who meet him at the gate as he enters; and the recognition of his preceptor Barlaam. These coincidences are so striking that we feel at once that they must have some common source; and, as the Shepherd of Hermas offers us nothing to correspond to them, we naturally enquire whether any other early series of Visions with a somewhat similar sanction can with probability be supposed to have been current in the African Church.

Before entering upon this enquiry, we may notice a most remarkable coincidence which may be added to those already mentioned by the change of a single letter in the Latin text. Saturus sees 'arbores rosae,' and adds: 'altitudo autem arborum erat in modum cypressi, quarum folia *cadebant* sine cessatione.' These enormous rose-trees correspond well enough with the fragrant trees of Josaphat's Vision. But why do their leaves 'fall without ceasing'? No explanation of any kind has been offered of this extraordinary statement. In the Apocalypse of S. John 'the leaves of the tree are for the healing of the nations,' but, in the passage of Ezekiel (xlvi. 12) from which this description is taken, it is expressly stated that their 'leaf shall not fade.' In the Apocalypse of Moses (Tisch. 1866, p. 11) the leaves of all the trees in Paradise, except the fig-tree, fall off when Eve eats the forbidden fruit (*κατέρρεον τὰ φύλλα*). This alone would be sufficient to condemn the reading 'cadebant' in the Vision of Saturus.

In Cod. C we find instead of it 'ardebant'; but the united testimony of Codd. A and B and the Greek Version (*κατεφέρετο*) renders this reading impossible on textual grounds, even if it were in itself an improvement. Now in Josaphat's Vision we read: *τά τε φύλλα τῶν δένδρων λιγυρὸν ὑπήχει*, 'the leaves of the trees made a tuneful sound.' If we read 'canebant,' all is clear. The trees in heaven were always singing.

What support can we find elsewhere for such a statement?

First, we may observe that to the Eastern mind there would be nothing strange in the conception. A few passages from the Old Testament may remind us of its frequency as a metaphor. 'Then shall the trees of the wood sing out at the presence of the Lord' (1 Chron. xvi. 33; cf. Ps. xcvi. 12): 'Break forth into singing, ye mountains, O forest, and every tree therein' (Isa. xlv. 23; cf. lv. 12): 'The desert shall rejoice and blossom as the rose: it shall blossom abundantly, and rejoice even with joy and singing' (Isa. xxxv. 1, 2).

Again, in the longer recension of the Testament of Abraham¹, not far from the beginning, as the Archangel Michael is going with Abraham to his house, a remarkable incident occurs: *κατὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐκείνης ἵστατο δένδρον κυπάρισσος· καὶ κατὰ πρόσταξιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐβόησεν τὸ δένδρον ἀνθρωπίνῃ φωνῇ, καὶ εἶπεν· "Ἄγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, κύριος ὁ θεὸς, ὁ προσκαλούμενος αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν.* It is at the least a strange coincidence that the singing trees of Sатурus's Vision grew 'in modum cypressi': and also that later on he hears 'uocem unitam dicentem: Agios, agios, agios: sine cessatione.' Moreover it may be noted that 'sine cessatione' is the phrase which he also has used of the trees². In the latter part of his Vision he is clearly influenced partly by the Apocalypse of S. John and partly by liturgical formulae: and hence it is quite possible that in the original source the *Ter Sanctus* was actually the song of the trees of Paradise, though he has reserved it for the angelic hosts. If this be the case, possibly we may find here some clue to the extraordinary phrase in Jeremiah's prayer in 'the Rest of the Words of Baruch³,' c. ix. : *ἠῤῥξατο εὐχὴν, λέγων· "Ἄγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος· τὸ θυμίαμα τῶν δένδρων τῶν ζώντων.*

There is another passage in the Vision of Sатурus where the text is clearly corrupt, and where the emendation which I would venture to propose derives a measure of support from Josaphat's description. The words are, as commonly edited, 'quattuor illi Angeli, qui gestabant nos, deposuerunt nos: et pedibus nostris transiuimus stadium *uia lata*.' Here Codd. B and C(?) read 'uia

¹ To be published in the second volume of the present Series, by M. R. James, M.A., Fellow of King's College.

² See note *ad loc.* p. 81.

³ Edited by Prof. Rendel Harris (Cambridge, 1889), to whom I owe this reference.

lata'; and the Greek has καὶ ὁδὸν λαβόντες, which points to a similar reading, as far as 'uia' is concerned. But this gives no tolerable sense: and Cod. A has 'uiolata.' I would read 'uiolatum,' and conceive the plain to have been 'covered with violets.' The word 'uiolatus' in a similar sense is found in Palladius, *in Feb.* 32: 'conditum uel absinthiatum uel rosatum uel uiolatum'.¹ This use however is so rare, that the word was extremely likely to suffer corruption at the hands of later scribes. But its restoration gives us an admirable sense, and harmonises well with the Vision itself and with the statement of Josaphat, μερίστη πεδιάδι ὠραίοις ἀνθεσι καὶ λίαν εὐώδεσι κομώση.

We must now proceed to our enquiry as to the common source of the details found in both Visions. The later Apocalypses, such as the Apocalypse of Esdras and the Vision of Paul, again and again present us with descriptions of Heaven and of Hell which are evidently derived from some earlier apocalyptic work which is now lost². A comparison of their common materials leads us back with almost indisputable certainty to the lost Apocalypse of Peter. To establish this conclusion would be beyond our present scope: and I must content myself with bringing together here some points of contact between several of these works and the Visions of Saturus and Josaphat.

Apocalypse of Esdras (Tisch. 1866, p. 30) καὶ ἀπήγαγόν με οἱ ἄγγελοι κατὰ ἀνατολάς· καὶ ἶδον τὸ φυτὸν τῆς ζωῆς. καὶ ἶδον ἐκεῖ τὸν Ἐνῶχ καὶ Ἡλίαν καὶ Μωϋσῆ, κ.τ.λ. Cf. *Perpet.* xi. coepimus ferri a quattuor Angelis in Orientem...ubi inuenimus Iocundum et Saturninum et Artaxium, &c.

p. 31 ὁ στέφανός σοι ἡτοίμασται. Cf. *Barl. et Jos.* (Boissonade, p. 360) Τίνος οἱ στέφανοι τῆς δόξης οἱ ὑπερλάμπροι, οὓς ὁρῶ; Σὺς μὲν ὁ εἷς, ἔφησαν, κ.τ.λ.

Apocalypsis Pauli, p. 43 οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ ἄγγελοι οἱ παραλαβόντες τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δικαίου ἡσπάσαντο αὐτὴν ὡς γινώριμον οὖσαν. καὶ ἐπορεύθη σὺν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἐξῆλθε τὸ πνεῦμα εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτῶν λέγων· Δεῦρο, ψυχὴ, εἰσελθε εἰς τὸν τόπον, κ.τ.λ.

¹ For the word 'uiolatio' cf. note *ad loc.* p. 81.

² This subject has been investigated by Mr M. R. James, to whom I owe the suggestion that the Apocalypse of Peter is the ultimate source of all such descriptions. I hope that he will publish the results of his investigations in a future number of this Series.

Cf. *Perpet.* xi. 'alii quattuor Angeli clariores ceteris, qui, ubi uiderunt nos, honorem nobis dederunt, et dixerunt ceteris Angelis: Ecce sunt, ecce sunt: cum admiratione.

p. 51 καὶ ἴδον ἐκεῖ δένδρα παμμεγέθη, κ.τ.λ. p. 53 καὶ συνεκυσπτον αὐτοῖς τὰ δένδρα. These last are fruitless trees, but are to be noted as displaying sympathy with certain souls. Cf. p. 64 καὶ ἴδον ἐκεῖ δένδρον παμμεγέθη ὥραϊον, ἐν ᾧ ἐπανεπαύετο τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. We may also notice the following phrases: p. 63 καὶ ἴδον τοὺς κδ' πρεσβυτέρους...καὶ πάντα παρεκάλουν τὴν δόξαν τοῦ θεοῦ. p. 59 φερόμενον ὑπὸ τεσσάρων ἀγγέλων σπουδαίως: and p. 65 ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου, a phrase of frequent recurrence.

Apocalypse of Moses, p. 20 καὶ ἦλθον εἰς τὸν παράδεισον, καὶ ἐκινήθησαν πάντα τὰ φυτὰ τοῦ παραδείσου, ὡς πάντας ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ γεγεννημένους ἀπὸ τῆς εὐωδίας νυστάξαι, χωρὶς τοῦ Σήθ, κ.τ.λ. Cf. *Barl. and Jos.* p. 280 καὶ ἀκόρεστον καὶ χαριεστάτην ἐκπέμποντα εὐωδίαν κινούμενα.

Besides these Apocalypses there are other writings of a similar character such as the Vision of S. Furseus (see the Bollandist Acts, January 16), from which might be adduced further coincidences with the details of our Visions. It is quite certain that the common element in all of these—and it is to be traced in the descriptions of hell even more plainly than in those of Paradise—is derived from some early apocalyptic work which is no longer extant. It has been suggested above that this original source was the Apocalypse of Peter. Is there any ground for supposing that this work would be current in Africa and known to our Martyrs?

The Apocalypse of Peter seems to be mentioned in the Muratorian Fragment¹, where it immediately precedes the Shepherd of Hermas. The notice of it adds: 'quam quidam ex nostris legi in ecclesia nolunt': but this very statement implies that in some Churches it was read.

It is quoted by Clement of Alexandria, who, according to Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 14. 1, commented in his *Hypotyposes* on all the Books of the New Testament, 'not even omitting...the Epistle of Barnabas and the so-called Apocalypse of Peter.'

Eusebius himself (*H. E.* iii. 25. 4) classes it with the Shepherd of Hermas and other books which he rejects from the Canon: ἐν

¹ See however Zahn *Gesch. des N. T. Kanons* ii. pp. 105 ff.

τοῖς νόθοις κατατετάχθω καὶ τῶν Παύλου πράξεων ἡ γραφή, ὃ τε λεγόμενος Ποιμὴν, καὶ ἡ Ἀποκάλυψις Πέτρου, καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἡ φερομένη Βαρνάβα ἐπιστολή, καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων αἱ λεγόμεναι διδαχαί.

The stichometry of the Codex Claromontanus of the Pauline Epistles closes with the Shepherd, the Acts of Paul and the Apocalypse of Peter. It is also included in the stichometry of Nicephorus. It is clear therefore that at one time it was bound up with copies of the New Testament, and was read in the public worship of some Churches. We have seen that this was probably the case with the Shepherd of Hermas in the early African Church. It is not unreasonable then to add to the African Bible of the second century the Apocalypse of Peter: in which case we should have in the Vision of Saturus a fresh illustration of a passage in Tertullian (*De Anima* 9, quoted below, p. 52) in which he speaks of the public reading of the Scriptures in the Church as affording materials for visions to a certain inspired sister.

Before we leave this subject I would call attention to some curious points of resemblance to the story of our Martyrs in the Symposium of S. Methodius. As the Apocalypse of Peter is directly quoted in another part of the same work (ii. 6 f.), these coincidences, if they are of any value, will be a fresh confirmation of the view taken above.

In viii. 2 we have the following description of the rewards of Virgins: αἱ δὲ εὐπτεροὶ καὶ κοῦφαι εἰς τὸν ὑπερκόσμιον τόπον ὑπερκύψασαι τοῦ βίου καὶ ἰδοῦσαι πόρρωθεν ἃ μὴ ἕτερος ἀνθρώπων ἐθεάσατο, τοὺς λειμῶνας αὐτοὺς τῆς ἀφθαρσίας, ἀμήχανα κάλλη καὶ ἄνθη φέροντας καὶ πεπληρωμένους, κ.τ.λ. ἀλλὰ καὶ εἴ τις αὐτῶν θηρίοις ἢ πυρὶ βούλοιτο τὰ σώματα παραδίδόναι...ὥστε δοκεῖν αὐτὰς ἐν κόσμῳ οὕσας μὴ εἶναι ἐν κόσμῳ, κ.τ.λ. ὅθεν καὶ πρῶται τῶν ἄλλων μετὰ τὴν ἀνάκλησιν καὶ τὴν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκδημίαν αἱ ὀρθῶς καὶ πιστῶς παρθενεύσασαι τῷ χριστῷ τὰ νικητήρια φέρονται τῶν ἄθλων, τοῖς τῆς ἀφθαρσίας ἄνθεσι στεφθεῖσαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ καταλείψαι τὸν κόσμον τὰς ψυχὰς λόγος ταῖς παρθένοις ὑπαντῶντας ἀγγέλους μετὰ πολλῆς εὐφημίας εἰς τοὺς προειρημένους παραπέμπειν λειμῶνας αὐτάς, κ.τ.λ. ἐνταῦθα δὲ ἐλθούσας θαυμαστά τινα θεάσασθαι καὶ ἐκλάμπρα...εἶναι γὰρ δένδρον σωφροσύνης αὐτῆς,

εἶναι ἀγάπης, εἶναι συνέσεως...αἱ δὲ χορεύουσιν ἐμμελῶς γεραίρουσαι τὸν θεόν, κ.τ.λ. And lower down (viii. 4) we have: ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ μὴ δειλιάσητε λοχῶντα καὶ ἐφεδρεύοντα τὸν ὄφιν.

The references to the beasts and to the state of trance, and the last reference to the serpent that lies in wait, may perhaps be dismissed at once as merely coincidental. For we have no reason to suppose that S. Methodius was acquainted with our Martyrdom itself. But those introduced by the word λόγος evidently are derived from some apocalyptic source, and, though S. Methodius has worked his material up into Platonic form, we may well conjecture that the tradition to which he refers was derived from the Apocalypse of Peter¹.

The Authorship of the Visions.

The Compiler of the Martyrdom distinctly states more than once that Perpetua and Saturus themselves wrote down their own Visions, whereas he in compliance with Perpetua's wish added the narrative of their final sufferings. It is a fair question therefore to ask whether there are any traces of difference in style and composition between the portions said to have been written by Perpetua, Saturus and the redactor respectively. In so brief a document it would be hard to charge the redactor with falsification if no such traces were to be seen: but on the other hand their existence would confirm us in the belief that we had the actual words of the Martyrs themselves.

If we consider the distribution of adopted Greek words in the piece, we shall find that the most striking of them occur in the writing of Perpetua, who, as Saturus tells us, could speak Greek. Thus it is she who uses: *machaera*, *draco*, *tegnon*, *catasta*, *horoma*, *diastema*, *phiala*, *agon*, *afa*, *psallere*. Saturus uses *stola* and *thronus* (cf. Apoc. vii.), and hears the song of praise in heaven as *Agios*, *agios*, *agios*. He also hears Perpetua address the bishop Optatus as *Papa*. The redactor uses: *catechumenus*, *psallere* (as a direct reminiscence of Perpetua's use of it), *agape*, *ecstasis*, and *scandalizemini* (in quoting words of Perpetua). Now in the case

¹ For parallels between the Acts of Thomas and Perpetua's Vision of Dinocrates, see the notes on this Vision.

of Saturus and the redactor we find only words that were no doubt familiar Bible or Church phrases : but Perpetua's words do not, for the most part, admit of the same explanation : and accordingly we are justified in reckoning them as evidence of individuality of style in her portion of the narrative.

Moreover a close examination of the vocabulary and manner of what purports to be her writing leads us to the same result. Thus Perpetua uses 'deicere' three times in the sense of 'to overthrow a person's steadfastness'; but in the only place where the redactor employs it (c. xviii.) it has quite a different sense. Again 'refrigero,' in the intransitive sense of to refresh oneself, comes four times in Perpetua, once in Saturus, and twice in the redactor; but in the first of these cases he is quoting Perpetua's word, and the second case immediately follows the quotation (c. xvi.). 'Beneficio' with a genitive occurs three times in Perpetua; 'subito' three times; 'ostendi,' of a vision, three times; 'mirae magnitudinis' three times; 'coepi' eleven times in Perpetua, three times in Saturus, and only once in the redactor.

The narrative of Perpetua, and the same is true of that of Saturus, is marked by extreme simplicity : it is eloquent indeed, but with no touch of conscious art or rhetoric. The narrative of the redactor is equally beautiful, but in a very different way : it is full of epigram and chastened rhetorical contrast.

The simplicity of Perpetua's style is due to two principal causes : first the constant use of the simplest of conjunctions ; and secondly the incessant repetition of the same words and phrases. The first of these may be illustrated by an analysis which I have made of the use of the word 'et' throughout the whole piece. Perpetua employs it 152 times in 172 lines ; Saturus 57 times in 52 lines ; the redactor only 90 times in 170 lines¹. That is, roughly speaking, Perpetua uses it nearly once in a line ; Saturus still more frequently ; and the redactor only about once in two lines. Again, there are passages in Perpetua where, with her constant habit of repeating a word she has just used, she employs 'tunc' as her connecting particle again and again. The most conspicuous instance of this is in c. iii., where for 13 lines 'et' is almost banished, and we have 'tunc' four times, and three sentences

¹ I have eliminated from the calculation quotations from the New Testament.

are without any introductory conjunction. In Saturus we have 'tunc' only once, and that in a strong sense at the end of his Vision: and in the redactor 'tunc' occurs only once as a connecting particle.

The use of 'ut' absolutely is also worth noting in Perpetua; e.g. 'et factus est mihi carcer subito praetorium, ut ibi malletm essem quam alicubi': and in three similar instances (c. iii., ut... laniaretur; c. x., ut excederet, ut...mitterem). Compare with this her use of 'ita ut,' c. vii. (bis).

These may seem trifling points; but we must remember that it is in the use of particles that we find the surest evidence of the sameness or difference of styles, where there is any room for the suspicion that a forger has been at work.

The second peculiarity which we have noted in Perpetua's style is the repeated employment of the same words and phrases where a careful writer would have been at pains to vary his language.

Thus in c. iii., within the space of 9 lines we find 'paucis diebus,' 'in ipso spatio paucorum dierum,' 'post paucos dies' and 'paucis horis': in 10 lines we find 'sollicitudine infantis' (twice), 'sollicita pro eo' and 'tales sollicitudines'; and the expression 'sollicitudine infantis' comes again in c. vi. In 13 lines we have 'carcer' five times; and in 10 lines 'infans' four times. We may note too the sentence, '*Tabescebam ideo quod illos tabescere uideram mei beneficio.*' In c. iv., in 5 lines we have 'scala' five times; and in 6 lines 'ascendere' five times. We have moreover 'ferramentorum...ferramentis'; and the characteristic sentence: 'lente eiecit *caput*; et quasi primum gradum *calcarem, calcaui illi caput.*'

In c. v. we read: 'post paucos dies rumor cucurrit ut audiremur': with which we may compare c. vi.: 'subito rapti sumus ut audiremur...rumor statim per uicinas fori partes cucurrit.' We have also: 'pater meus consumptus taedio,' which recurs word for word in c. ix. In c. vi. we have a good example of repetition in the following sentences: '*Et ego respondi: Non facio. Hilarianus, Christiana es? inquit. Et ego respondi: Christiana sum. Et cum staret pater ad me deiciendam, iussus est ab Hilariano deici, et uirga percussit. Et doluit mihi casus patris mei, quasi ego fuisset percussa: sic dolui pro senecta eius misera.*' With the

last words compare c. v., 'Et ego dolebam causam patris mei'; c. vii., 'et dolui commemorata casus eius'; and c. ix., 'Ego dolebam pro infelici senecta eius.'

In c. vii. we have: 'Erat deinde...ubi Dinocrates erat *piscina* plena *aqua*, *altiore* *marginem* habens quam erat statura pueri; et extendebat se Dinocrates quasi *bibiturus*. Ego dolebam quod et *piscina* illa *aquam* habebat, et tamen propter *altitudinem marginis* *bibiturus* non esset. Et experrecta sum, et cognoui fratrem meum *laborare*: sed fidebam me profuturam *labori* eius: et orabam pro eo omnibus diebus quousque transiuimus in carcerem *castrensem*. Munere enim *castrensi* eramus pugnaturi.'

In c. viii. we have 'quem retro uideram,' and 'quam retro uideram.'

In c. x. we have 'fautores mei' three times: and in the last words of Perpetua's writing: 'Hoc usque in pridie *muneris* *egi*: ipsius autem *muneris* *actum* si quis uoluerit scribat.'

I think that after this detailed examination we are justified in saying that Perpetua has a distinct style of her own, which marks off her writing from that of the compiler of the Martyrdom. The absence of glaring instances of 'Africanism' in what she has written is only what we should expect, when we remember that it is edited for us by a writer of unusual literary ability and of cultured style. We may well believe that the rougher phrases have been smoothed away.

When we turn to the Vision of Saturus we have much less material for comparison; but even here a fair case may be made out for individuality of authorship. We have already noticed the extraordinary frequency with which he couples his sentences by the simple conjunction 'et.' We may further observe that he has phrases more than once which are not found elsewhere in the piece. Thus he gives us 'tale fuit quasi' twice (c. xi.), and 'tales erant quasi' (c. xii.): 'sic quasi' twice: 'cum admiratione' twice: 'sine cessatione' twice (but this occurs also once in Perpetua): 'exire' in the sense of 'mori' three times. Moreover he uses 'dixi, dixit, dixerunt' eleven times, never varying the word, whereas Perpetua has also 'inquit' and 'respondi.' So too he uses 'uiridarium' three times for a garden, while Perpetua uses 'hortus.' Considering then that we have only 52 lines of his

writing, the evidence is much fuller than we had a right to expect.

When we now return to the Greek form of the Martyrdom, we find that these peculiarities of style are entirely obliterated; and thus we are supplied with a fresh and most powerful argument on behalf of the originality of the Latin document as a whole.

The Authorship of the rest of the Martyrdom.

If the evidence which I have adduced is sufficient to establish a real difference of style between the writers of the Visions and the redactor who edits them and supplements them with an account of the actual Martyrdom, no one, I suppose, will hesitate for a moment to leave the authorship of the Visions with the Martyrs themselves.

Is it possible also to identify the redactor? I believe that it is. It has been several times suggested that the whole character of the composition points to Tertullian as its author. Holsten, the first editor of the Martyrdom, although he does not anywhere suggest that Tertullian was its author, yet takes pains to collect from his writings many illustrations both of matter and of vocabulary.

It must always be difficult and hazardous to attempt to assign a work to a particular author, when there is no tradition connecting it with his name. But I can scarcely conceive that any instance could be found in which identification can be made with a greater probability than is attainable in the present case.

I shall begin by examining the Scriptural quotations in the piece, and then pass on to parallels of thought and diction between our author and Tertullian, and finally bring together some of the more important coincidences in vocabulary.

First, let us examine the way in which the redactor quotes the New Testament. The first citation is in the Preface, and comes from Acts ii. 17. 'In nouissimis enim diebus, dicit Dominus, effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filii filiaeque eorum; et super seruos et ancillas meas de meo Spiritu effundam; et iuuenes uisiones uidebunt et senes somnia

somniabunt.' The reading 'eorum' suggests a comparison of the rendering of this passage in the Latin of Codex Bezae. I have also given the Vulgate version, italicising its divergences.

CODEX BEZAE.

Erit in nouissimis diebus, dicit Dominus, effundam Spiritum meum super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filii eorum et filias eorum; et iuvenes uisiones uidebunt et seniores somnia somniabunt; et ego super seruos meos et super ancillas meas effundam Spiritum meum.

VULGATE.

Et erit in nouissimis diebus, dicit Dominus, effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filii uestri et filiae uestrae; et iuvenes uestri uisiones uidebunt et seniores uestri somnia somniabunt; et quidem super seruos meos et super ancillas meas in diebus illis effundam de Spiritu meo, et prophetabunt.

It will be seen that most of the peculiarities in our quotation are explained by supposing the currency in Africa in the second century of a text closely related to that of Codex Bezae. But there still remains the curious disarrangement of the sentences, which seems to be an idiosyncrasy of the writer himself. Now it is remarkable that Tertullian (Adv. Marc. v. 8) quotes the passage thus: 'In nouissimis diebus effundam de meo Spiritu in omnem carnem, et prophetabunt filii filiaeque eorum; et super seruos et ancillas meas de meo Spiritu effundam.' Here we have the same displacement, as far as the quotation extends, and the same variants in the text¹.

A little later in the Preface we find these words: 'Et nos itaque quod audiuius² et contrectauimus annuntiamus et uobis, fratres et filioli, ut et uos qui interfuistis rememoremini gloriae Domini, et qui nunc cognoscitis per auditum communionem habeatis cum sanctis martyribus,' &c.

In this passage we have the language of two verses worked up somewhat confusedly. They stand in the Vulgate thus:

¹ Cf. Tert. De Resurr. 63, 'Effundens in nouissimis diebus de suo Spiritu in omnem carnem, in seruos suos et ancillas.'

² Possibly 'et uidimus' has fallen out after 'audiuius'; for the Greek version of the Martyrdom has ἀκούσαμεν καὶ ἐώρακαμεν καὶ ἐψηλάφησαμεν. With the order which we should thus get Cod. Sinaiticus corresponds, reading, apparently against all other Greek MSS., δ ἀκηκόαμεν καὶ ἐώρακαμεν. It is also to be noted that the Latin of the Martyrdom, though not the Greek, has the true reading 'et uobis.'

1 Jno. i. 1. 'Quod fuit ab initio, quod audiuius, quod uidimus oculis nostris, quod perspeximus, et manus nostrae contrectauerunt de uerbo uitae.'

1 Jno. i. 3. 'Quod uidimus et audiuius, annunciamus uobis, ut et uos societatem habeatis nobiscum.'

The most curious result of this combination is 'contrectauimus' (1 pers. plur.), which cannot be explained from any MSS. or Versions. But we find it in Tertullian (Adv. Prax. 15): 'Vidimus et audiuius et contrectauimus de sermone uitae,' which is a loose citation of 1 Jno. i. 1, which he has quoted somewhat more accurately a little before. Here then we seem to have another example of the way in which an individual writer may have a habit of his own in quoting a special text.

The next quotation is in c. xix. 'Sed qui dixerat, Petite et accipietis, petentibus dederat eum exitum quem quisque desiderauerat.' The actual phrase is found in Jno. xvi. 24 'Petite et accipietis, ut gaudium uestrum sit plenum.' But the more natural text to have quoted would have been 'Petite et dabitur uobis' (Mt. vii. 7, Lc. xi. 9), and that passage was probably in the writer's mind when he added 'petentibus dedit,' which is parallel to 'pulsanti aperietur' in S. Matthew and S. Luke.

Now this same confusion is to be traced in more than one passage of Tertullian. Thus we read (De Orat. 10) 'Dominus, prospector humanarum necessitatum, seorsum post traditam orandi disciplinam: Petite, inquit, et accipietis'; where he certainly ought to have written 'et dabitur uobis.' Again (De Bapt. 20): 'Petite et accipietis, inquit. Quaesistis enim et inuenistis; pulsastis et apertum est uobis.' Again after combating the Marcionist use of 'Quaerite et inuenietis' (De Praescr. 8) he goes on to quote, 'Pulsate et aperietur uobis,' and later on in the same chapter, 'Petite et accipietis': and in c. 11 he loosely quotes the next sentences thus: 'Petenti enim dabitur, inquit, et pulsanti aperietur, et quaerenti inuenietur.'

The same confusion is to be found several times in S. Augustine's writings (see Sabatier, *ad loca*): so that we are not justified in laying stress on it as an idiosyncrasy of Tertullian. The confusion is an easy one: but it is apparently not to be accounted for by any known Version, and the fact that it is made both by our

author and by Tertullian is certainly an interesting coincidence, and one which acquires importance when added to those already mentioned.

The next instance I shall give is from the Epilogue. It does not, strictly speaking, contain a quotation though it involves a reference to Mt. xxii. 14 and perhaps also to Rev. xviii. 14; but it may serve as a point of passage from the consideration of Scriptural citations to other instances in which we find parallels between our author and Tertullian. We read at the close of the narration of their sufferings: 'O fortissimi ac beatissimi Martyres! O uere uocati et electi in gloriam Domini nostri Iesu Christi; quam qui magnificat et honorificat et adorât, utique et haec non minora ueteribus exempla in aedificationem Ecclesiae legere debet.'

The first point to notice is that 'the glory of the Lord' is regarded as the great end of Martyrdoms, and is set forward by their public recital in the Church. The same thought is twice expressed in the Preface: 'necessario et digerimus et *ad gloriam Dei* lectione celebramus'; and, in a passage cited above, 'annuntiamus et uobis...ut et uos qui interfuistis rememoremini *gloriae Domini*.'

Now when Tertullian discusses Flight in Persecution, he takes the high ground that Persecution is a dispensation of God for judging the Church and shewing who are truly His. And the great end of Persecution is found to be 'the glory of God': De Fug. 1: 'Totum quod agitur in persecutione *gloria Dei* est, probantis et reprobantis, imponentis et deponentis.' In c. 9 he says: 'nolite in lectulis...optare exire, sed in martyriis, uti *glorificetur* qui est passus pro nobis.' Again (c. 12) he asks, if Christians may escape by the payment of a bribe, 'quomodo et martyria fieri possent *in gloriam Domini*?'

At the close of the book (c. 14) after admitting the hardness of its sayings and yet insisting on fearlessness as the true sign of love, he says: 'Et ideo multi uocati, pauci electi.' The whole line of thought is closely parallel to the words of our author about the Martyrs, who were not only called but chosen to the glory of our Lord.

An interesting parallel in thought rather than in words is to be found in the Preface. After speaking of the Divine grace

displayed in his own day in Martyrs and in Revelations, he adds: 'Cum semper Deus operetur quae repromisit, non credentibus in testimonium, credentibus in beneficium.' Tertullian (*De Anima* 51) tells of a Christian girl, 'uernacula ecclesiae,' who had died and was laid out for burial, but who, when the priest began to say a prayer over her, raised her hands from her side and folded them in the form of a cross on her breast, and afterwards, 'condita pace' (i.e. when the kiss of peace had been given to conclude the prayer), returned them to their former position. This he vouches for of his own knowledge: similar facts he has heard related. Then he adds, 'Si et apud ethnicos tale quid traditur, ubique Deus potestatis suae signa proponit, suis in solatium, extraneis in testimonium.' The thought is precisely the same, and the two sentences though so differently worded are almost interchangeable.

On the other hand in c. xx. we have a parallel in words rather than in sense. When Perpetua has been tossed by the mad cow, her only care is to rearrange her torn robe, 'pudoris potius memor quam doloris.' In Tertullian (*De Paenit.* 10) we read of some who put off the open confession of their sins—'pudoris magis memores quam salutis.'

The distinctly Montanistic tone of the Martyrdom may be illustrated by two facts in the history of its transmission. The first of these has already been noticed (p. 6): the Greek translator has carefully modified passages which he regarded as unsatisfactory on this ground; and especially the closing section of the piece. A similar fate has awaited the document in the West: for both Cod. Salisburg. and Cod. Compend. have omitted the whole of the Preface, and the Short Latin recension has nothing to correspond to it at all. Accordingly it has only been preserved in the Monte Cassino MS., and in a modified form in the Greek Version.

Now this Montanistic tone, using the expression in its best sense, as connoting the emphasis laid on the present work of the Holy Spirit in the Church and especially in Martyrdoms, is just what we should look for in a work of Tertullian. It is needless to multiply quotations on this point: but I cannot forbear quoting two passages out of many. The first is at the outset of his exhortation to the Martyrs in prison: 'Imprimis ergo, benedicti, nolite

contristare Spiritum Sanctum, qui uobiscum introiit carcerem. Si enim non uobiscum nunc introisset, nec uos illic hodie fuissetis' (Ad Mart. i.). We may note in passing that our redactor also applies the epithet 'benedictus' to a martyr (c. xi. 'Saturus benedictus'). The other passage is from the De Corona: 'Plane superest, ut etiam martyria recusare meditentur, qui prophetias eiusdem Spiritus Sancti respuerunt' (De Cor. 1).

We have the technical phraseology of Montanism in c. xx., where 'adeo in Spiritu et in ecstasi fuerat' may be compared with the striking passage in De Anima 9, which gives an interesting illustration of the materials out of which visions were formed and so far bears out our view of the use made by our Martyrs of the Shepherd of Hermas, which no doubt they had heard read in the Church. 'Est hodie soror apud nos reuelationum charismata sortita, quas in ecclesia inter dominica sollemnia *per ecstasin in Spiritu* patitur; conuersatur cum angelis, aliquando etiam cum Domino, et uidet et audit sacramenta, et quorundam corda dinoscit, et medicinas desiderantibus submittit. Iam uero prout scripturae leguntur aut psalmi canuntur aut allocutiones proferuntur aut petitiones delegantur, ita inde *materiae uisionibus* subministrantur.'

Again, it is interesting to observe the number of expressions which suggest that the writer is familiarly conversant with the phraseology of Roman law, and so form a fresh link with the style of Tertullian. To pass over such commoner words as 'exempla' (bis), 'documentum' (bis), 'testificari' (bis), 'testimonium' (bis), 'haereditas,' we find the rarer word 'fideicommissum,' which is seldom met with outside the law books, in the striking metaphor of c. xvi. 'quasi mandatum sanctissimae Perpetuae, immo *fideicommissum* eius exequimur, unum adicientes documentum de ipsius constantia et animi sublimitate.' The word implies a sacred trust of moral rather than of legal obligation. '*Fideicommissum* est quod non ciuilibus uerbis sed precatione relinquitur; nec ex rigore iuris ciuilis proficiscitur, sed ex uoluntate datur relinquentis' (Ulpian. Frag. 25, 1). Again, if Tertullian be the author it is curious to see how he can turn the edge of his own favourite argument from 'prescription' when used against himself, and that too in words every one of which can easily be paralleled

from his writings. Compare c. i. 'Vel quia et haec uetera futura quandoque sunt et necessaria posteris, si in praesenti suo tempore minori deputantur auctoritati, propter praesumptam uenerationem antiquitatis'; with Apol. 19, '*auctoritatem* summa *antiquitas* uindicat'; and De Virg. Vel. 2, 'sed nolo interim hunc morem ueritati *deputare*.' Lastly, we may note the word 'instrumentum' in one of the various senses in which Tertullian loves to use it; c. i. 'ad instrumentum Ecclesiae deputamus': compare especially De Cor. 8, 'per communia ista instrumenta exhibitionis humanae'; and for other examples both of this word and of 'deputari' see Holsten's note on *Perpet.* c. i.

Two phrases which, although they occur in earlier Latin writers, are conspicuously characteristic of Tertullian are also to be found in our author. The first of these is 'uiderit,' 'let him see to it,' in dismissing somewhat contemptuously an opponent with whom it is not worth while to argue. Thus in c. i. we have: 'Sed uiderint qui unam uirtutem...'; of those who deny the variety of the Spirit's manifestations in all ages of the Church. Compare Ad Scap. 4, 'Viderint qui sectam mentiuntur,' and see Oehler's note on De Cor. 13, where many examples are collected. The second is the absolute use of 'si forte,' in the sense of 'if at all'; compare c. xviii. 'si forte, gaudio pauentes, non timore,' with Ad Mart. i. ad fin., and see Oehler's note on De Cor. 5.

Our enquiry is rendered more difficult by the want of any piece of sustained historical narration in Tertullian's recognised works, which might have given us an opportunity of observing his method of telling a plain straightforward story. Wherever we open him we feel that we meet with the rhetorician, passionately in earnest but always pleading a cause. On the other hand, even in our short and simple narrative we have touches of rhetoric which form a strong contrast to the quiet naturalness of Perpetua's own style. These come out from time to time in the narrator's comments on the incidents which he relates. Thus, at the very outset of his own narration, in speaking of the death of Secundulus in prison he makes the remark: 'non sine gratia, ut bestias lucraretur. gladium tamen etsi non anima, certe caro eius agnouit¹.' With this special use of 'lucrari' we may compare De Res. 42: 'Quis

¹ See the notes on this passage, pp. 82 f.

enim non desiderabit dum in carne est, superinduere immortalitatem et continuare uitam lucrifacta morte per uicariam demutationem?' With the second clause compare *Ad Mart.* 4: 'Timebit forsitan caro gladium,' &c.; and later on in the same chapter: 'Ornamentum enim et gloria deputabitur maiore quidem titulo, si anima potius cesserit plagis, quam corpus.'

The same characteristic is observable as the narrative proceeds, and it is specially to be noticed in the rhetorical contrasts employed in speaking of *Felicitas*, in c. xviii.: 'Saluam se peperisse gaudens ut ad bestias pugnaret, a sanguine in sanguinem, ab obstetrice ad retiarium, lotura post partum baptismo secundo.' The Second Baptism, to which our author again rhetorically alludes in c. xxi., is so frequently spoken of by Tertullian that it would be superfluous to collect illustrations of it¹.

I cannot help quoting in this connection the epigrammatic comment, 'Agnouit iniustitia iustitiam,' which is rendered the more striking by the use of the rare word 'iniustitia.' The comment on the eagerness of *Saturninus* to be exposed to all the beasts, 'ut scilicet gloriosorem gestaret coronam,' may be compared with *Ad Scap.* 4: 'sed maiora certamina, maiora praemia.' That on the provision of a mad cow contrary to custom in the arena, 'diabolus praeparauit, sexui earum etiam de bestia aemulatus,' is curiously parallel to the opening sentence of the treatise *Adv. Praxean*: 'Varie diabolus aemulatus est ueritatem.'

The play upon words in c. xxi., to which we have already alluded (p. 8), where the author puts a new and unexpected meaning into the taunting shout of the multitude in the amphitheatre, is very like Tertullian's irony in *Ad Scap.* 3: 'Cum de areis sepulchrorum nostrarum adclamassent: Areae non sint! areae ipsorum non fuerunt.'

At last the orator breaks out in the noble peroration: 'O fortissimi ac beatissimi Martyres! O uere uocati et electi in gloriam Domini nostri Iesu Christi!' The second of these clauses has been already illustrated from Tertullian (p. 50), and we may add to the passages there quoted *De Bapt.* 16, where we have the same words applied to Martyrs in speaking of the Second Baptism: 'proinde nos facere aqua uocatos, sanguine electos.' It is interest-

¹ Cf. Oehler on *Apol.* 50.

ing also to note that 'fortissima Martyr' is the very epithet applied to Perpetua in *De Anima* 55¹.

I must now close this investigation with a few parallels of words and phrases, given in the briefest possible form. I do not of course pretend that they are peculiar to our author and Tertullian, or that they would prove anything by themselves; but they are useful as supplementary evidence of the harmony of language and thought which we have already found to exist between them. I need scarcely acknowledge my indebtedness to Oehler's valuable Index, and to Rönsch's *Itala und Vulgata*.

c. i. *Si uetera fidei exempla, &c. (cf. c. xxi. haec non minora ueteribus exemplis).*

De Fuga 2. *Exempla in scripturis signata demonstrant (e.g. Saul, Phygellus and Hermogenes). Ibid. 3. Cum ergo et haec exempla magis in persecutionibus eueniant.*

In literis sunt digesta...digerantur...necessario et digerimus.

Ad Natt. ii. 1. *Ex omnibus retro digestis (and Oehler's note: 'digerere et digestum Tertulliano usitatissima sunt uocabula'). De Bapt. 1. Non erit otiosum digestum istud, instruens tam eos, &c. (In the Classical use of these words the idea of orderly arrangement generally prevails.)*

Quasi repraesentatione rerum.

De Jejun. 13. *Ipsa repraesentatio totius nominis Christiani (of a Universal Council). De Praescr. 36. Ipsae authenticæ litteræ eorum (sc. apostolorum) recitantur, sonantes uocem et repraesentantes faciem uniuscuiusque (where the general sense is the same as here). Cf. also De Res. 17.*

Pro aetatibus temporum...in ultima saeculi spatia.

Adv. Jud. 1. *Noster uero minor aetate temporum intellegatur, utpote in ultimo saeculi spatio, &c.*

Nouissimiora. Cf. Tertullian's forms, 'extremior,' 'extremis-

¹ 'Quomodo Perpetua fortissima Martyr sub die passionis in reuelatione paradisi solos illic commartyres suos uidit,' &c. Tertullian has been accused of a mistake in this passage, which he could scarcely have made had he been himself the editor of the Visions: namely, that of confounding the Vision of Saturus with that of Perpetua. But, in truth, he is strictly correct: for Saturus saw others beside Martyrs in Paradise: whereas Perpetua speaks only of the 'candidati milia multa' in the Garden at the top of the Ladder: and these obviously were 'only fellow-martyrs.'

simus,' 'postremissimus'; and Rönsch, *I. und V.*, 278, 280, where instances are given from other writers of these provincial formations.

Omnia donatiua administrans in omnibus.

Adv. Marc. 8. Donatiua, quae charismata dicimus.

De Res. 47. 'Donatium autem Dei uita aeterna.'

Siue in martyrum siue in reuelationum dignatione.

Adv. Iud. 1. Per gratiam primae dignationis in lege...gratiam diuinae dignationis consequitur.

De Patient. 11. Gratulari et gaudere nos docet dignatione diuinae castigationis (cf. c. xviii. ad fin., of our Martyrdom).

c. xvi. *Ad supplementum tantae gloriae describendae.*

Adv. Marc. iv. 16. Plane haec Christus adiecerit ut supplementa consentanea disciplinae Creatoris. Cf. De Anima, 35.

c. xvii. *Pridie quoque cum illam cenam ultimam, quam liberam uocant, quantum in ipsis erat non cenam liberam, sed agapen cenarent.*

Apol. 42. Non in publico Liberalibus discumbo, quod bestiariis supremam cenantibus mos est.

Ibid. 39 (in reference to the 'agape'). Vt qui non tam cenam cenauerint quam disciplinam.

c. xx. *Ad uelamentum femoris reduxit.*

De Fuga, 6. Ad uelamentum timiditatis suae utuntur.

Apol. 36. Ad uelamentum sui potest fungi.

Adv. Val. 16. Velamentum sibi obduxit. (The word is not a common one, and its use in classical writers is quite different.)

c. xxi. *Ad summam.*

Adv. Marc. v. 17. Ad summam subiungens.

Ante iam osculati inuicem, ut martyrium per solennia pacis consummarent.

De Orat. 18. Quae oratio cum diuortio sancti osculi integra?... Quale sacrificium est a quo sine pace receditur?

This investigation might doubtless be carried further by one who had a more intimate acquaintance with the writings of Tertullian than my cursory reading allows me to claim: but I cherish the hope that I have done enough to render it in the highest degree probable that we have in this beautiful Martyr-

dom a genuine addition to the hitherto recognised works of the great master. It is hard indeed to force oneself to imagine another such writer, living at the same time and in the same Church, filled with the same Montanistic fervour, delighting in the same legal phraseology, able to wield the same passionate rhetoric to the same good purposes, even making the same confusions in his Scriptural quotations; who yet must be distinguished from Tertullian himself; and that, forsooth, only because tradition has assigned to him no name.

An argument of this kind will appeal with different degrees of force to different minds. I would beg any one who desires to estimate it fairly to read over again Tertullian's *De Patientia*, and to ask himself whether it does not gain a new meaning and beauty if we suppose that its author had already written the story of Perpetua. I would especially call attention to the following passages:

c. 7. Nihil enim nostrum, quoniam Dei omnia, cuius ipsi quoque nos.

Quis enim ab alio secari omnino non sustinens ipse ferrum in corpore suo ducit?

c. 9. Christum laedimus cum euocatos quosque ab illo quasi miserandos non aequanimiter accipimus.

c. 10. Nos utres (*v. l.* putres), uasa fictilia.

c. 11. Quin insuper gratulari et gaudere nos docet dignatione diuinæ castigationis.

c. 13. Carnis patientia in persecutionibus denique proeliatur... si et carcer praeueniat, caro in uinculis, caro in ligno, caro in solo et in illa paupertate lucis, et in illa patientia (*v. l.* penuria) mundi. cum uero producitur ad experimentum felicitatis, ad occasionem secundae intinctionis, ad ipsum diuinæ sedis ascensum, nulla plus illic quam patientia corporis.

Almost every phrase here quoted has its parallel, in thought if not in word, in our Martyrdom: and many smaller coincidences might be collected. But the whole feeling of the piece is of more importance than its phraseology. Patience, he tells us at the close (c. 15), 'temptationes inculcat, scandala pellit, martyria consummat.' And then he draws her portrait; and did he not draw it from the life? Was he not thinking of her whose one prayer at

her baptism had been at the Spirit's bidding for this very Patience? Had he not in view the scene in the amphitheatre where the Martyrs shake their heads at the judge whom God will judge: and the noble picture of Perpetua herself, 'the bride of Christ, the darling of God,' with her bright step and flashing eye, soon to find herself enjoying in the Spirit the beatific vision before the time, and only recalled to earth to taste of pain and to point the clumsy sword to her own throat?

'Age iam si et effigiem habitumque eius comprehendamus. Vultus illi tranquillus et placidus, frons pura, nulla maeroris aut irae rugositate contracta; remissa aequè in laetum modum supercilia, oculis humilitate non infelicitate deiectis; os tacurnitatis honore signatum; color qualis securis et innoxiiis; motus frequens capitis in diabolum et minax risus; ceterum amictus circum pectora candidus, et corpori impressus, ut qui nec inflatur nec inquietatur: sedet enim in throno Spiritus eius mitissimi et mansuetissimi, qui non turbine glomeratur, non nubilo liuet, sed est tenerae serenitatis, apertus et simplex, quem tertio uidit Helias. Nam ubi Deus, ibi et alumna eius, patientia scilicet. Cum ergo Spiritus Dei descendit, indiuidua patientia comitatur eum.'

THE LATIN AND GREEK TEXTS

OF THE

PASSION OF S. PERPETUA.

PASSIO S. PERPETVAE.

I. Si uetera fidei exempla, et Dei gratiam testificantia et aedificationem hominis operantia, propterea in litteris sunt digesta, ut lectione eorum quasi repraesentatione rerum et Deus honoretur et homo confortetur; cur non et noua documenta
 5 aequae utrique causae conuenientia et digerantur? uel quia proinde et haec uetera futura quandoque sunt et necessaria posteris, si in praesenti suo tempore minori deputantur auctoritati, propter praesumptam uenerationem antiquitatis. sed uiderint qui unam uirtutem Spiritus unius Sancti pro aetatibus iudicent
 10 temporum: cum maiora reputanda sunt nouitiora quaeque ut nouissimiora, secundum exuperationem gratiae in ultima saeculi spatia decretam. *In nouissimis enim diebus, dicit Dominus, Act. ii. effundam de Spiritu meo super omnem carnem, et prophetabunt* ^{17f.}
filiu filiaeque eorum: et super seruos et ancillas meas de meo

Deest titulus in A. INCIPIT PASSIO SCÆ FELICITATIS ET PERPETVAE B; PASSIO SS. FAELICITATIS ET PERPETVAE, QVOD EST NONIS MARTIIS IN CIVITATE TURBITANA C
 1 *Deest cap. I. in BC* 2 aedificatione A 3 repraesentatione] *coni. Harris;*
 repensatione A 12 decretam] decreta A

1 Dei gratiam testificantia] Cf. Act. xx. 24 testificari euangelium gratiae Dei.

3 repraesentatione] See above p. 9.

4 et homo confortetur] The Greek has lost this clause: but probably it originally had it; and, if so, we should read below *ἐκατέραν ἐργαζόμενα ὡφέλειαν*.

8 sed uiderint] See above p. 53. Those are blamed who limit the manifestations of the Spirit's working: with 'unam' contrast 'ceteras,' p. 62, l. 3.

10 cum...sunt] The use of 'cum' with

indic. in a causal sense is found in early Latin writers, and is very common in African Latin: see Oehler on Tert. *Apol.* 1 (note n). There is no need to read 'sint' with Holsten.

11 nouissimiora] See above p. 55; and add 'postremissimas' (C. Gracchus, in Wordsworth's *Fragments and Specimens of early Latin* p. 354). See also Rönisch *Itala und Vulgata* pp. 277 ff.

12 decretam] The Greek suggests either this or perhaps 'decretae,' instead of the

MARTYRION ΠΕΡΠΕΤΟΥΑΣ.

Μαρτύριον τῆς ἁγίας Περπετούας καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτῇ τελειωθέντων ἐν Αἴφρικῃ· τῇ πρὸ τεσσάρων νονῶν Φευρουαρίων. Εὐλόγησον.

Ἐπὶ Οὐαλεριάνου καὶ Γαλιηνοῦ διωγμὸς ἐγένετο, ἐν ᾧ ἐμαρτύρησαν οἱ ἅγιοι Σάτυρος, Σατουρνῖλος, Ῥεουκάτος, Περπετούα, Φηλικητάτη, νόναις Φευρουαρίαις.

5

Ι. Εἰ τὰ παλαιὰ τῆς πίστεως δόγματα, καὶ δόξαν θεοῦ φανεροῦντα καὶ οἰκοδομὴν ἀνθρώποις ἀποτελοῦντα, διὰ τοῦτό ἐστιν γεγραμμένα, ἵνα τῇ ἀναγνώσει αὐτῶν ὡς παρουσίᾳ τῶν πραγμάτων χρώμεθα καὶ ὁ θεὸς δοξασθῇ, διατί μὴ καὶ τὰ καινὰ παραδείγματα, ἅτε δὴ ἑκάτερα ἐργαζόμενα ὠφέλειαν, ὡσαύτως 10 γραφῇ παραδοθεῖ; ἢ γὰρ τὰ νῦν πραχθέντα οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν παρρησίαν ἔχει, ἐπεὶ δοκεῖ πως εἶναι τὰ ἀρχαῖα σεμνότερα; πλὴν καὶ ταῦτα ὕστερόν ποτε γενόμενα παλαιά, ὡσαύτως τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς γενήσεται καὶ ἀναγκαῖα καὶ τίμια. ἀλλ' ὁψωνται οἷτινες μίαν δύναμιν ἐνὸς ἁγίου πνεύματος κατὰ τὰς ἡλικίας 15 κρίνουσι τῶν χρόνων· ὅτε δὴ δυνατώτερα ἔδει νοεῖσθαι τὰ καινότερα, ὡς ἔχοντα ἀξανομένης τῆς χάριτος τῆς εἰς τὰ τέλη τῶν καιρῶν ἐπηγγελμένης. Ἐν ἐσχάταις γὰρ ἡμέραις, λέγει ὁ κύριος, ἐκχεῶ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματός μου ἐπὶ πᾶσαν σάρκα, καὶ προφητεύουσιν οἱ γιοὶ ἡμῶν καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες ἡμῶν· καὶ οἱ 20

3 γαλινοῦ 6 εἰ τὰ] εἶτα δόγματα] forsan παραδείγματα 7 φανεροῦνται
11 παραδοθεῖς 16 δὴ] δὲ 17 ἔχοντα] εἰσχατα coni. Gebh. ... 18 ἐπηγγειλ-
μένης

reading of A, 'decreta.' Final 'm' is very frequently omitted in this MS., e.g. 'aedificatione' l. 2.

12 in nouissimis] On the quotation

from Act. ii. 17 f. see above pp. 47 f. See also pp. 49 ff. for various parallels between the whole of this prefatory section and Tertullian's works.

Spiritu effundam: et iuvenes uisiones uidebunt, et senes somnia somniabunt. itaque et nos qui sicut prophetias ita et uisiones nouas pariter repromissas et agnoscimus et honoramus, ceterasque uirtutes Spiritus Sancti ad instrumentum Ecclesiae deputamus, cui et missus est idem omnia donatiua administrans in omnibus prout unicuique distribuit Dominus, necessario et digerimus et ad gloriam Dei lectione celebramus; ut ne qua aut imbecillitas aut desperatio fidei apud ueteres tantum aestimet gratiam diuinitatis conuersatam, siue in martyrum siue in reuelationum dignatione: cum semper Deus operetur quae repromisit, non credentibus in testimonium, credentibus in beneficium. et nos itaque *quod audiuiimus et contrectauimus* ^{1 Jn. i. 1, 3.} *annuntiamus et uobis, fratres et filioli: ut et uos qui interfuistis rememoremini gloriae Domini, et qui nunc cognoscitis per auditum communionem habeatis cum sanctis martyribus, et per illos cum Domino Iesu Christo, cui est claritas et honor in saecula saeculorum. amen.*

II. Apprehensi sunt adolescentes catechumini, Reuocatus et Felicitas conserua eius, Saturninus et Secundulus. inter hos et Vibia Perpetua, honeste nata, liberaliter instituta, matronaliter nupta, habens patrem et matrem et fratres duos, alterum aequae catechuminum, et filium infantem ad ubera: erat autem ipsa circiter annorum uiginti duo. haec ordinem totum martyrii sui iam hinc ipsa narrauit, sicut conscriptum manu sua et suo sensu reliquit.

III. Cum adhuc, inquit, cum prosecutoribus essem, et me pater uerbis euertere cupiret et deicere pro sua affectione

2 et nos] nos et A	5 administratur A	6 prout] pro A	7 lecti-
onem A	9 diuinatis A	om. in A	13 ut] + hii A
uerbo inc. B	19 om. Saturninus A	20 hos] quos B	18 Reuocatus] ex hoc
honeste nata] honesta A	23 erat autem] et erat B		ubia A; uiuia C
duo] et duo B; et duorum C	25 suam manu B	26 essem] essemus B	annorum circiter B
27 om. uerbis A	euertere cupiret] auertere B		

2 prophetias...nouas] Cf. Tert. *adv. Prae.* 30 Spiritum Sanctum...*oikouplas* interpretatorem, si quis sermones nouae prophetiae eius admiserit.

5 idem omnia...distribuit Dominus] Cf. Rom. xii. 3, 1 Cor. vii. 17, xii. 6. For 'donatiua' see above p. 56.

7 ad gloriam Dei] See above p. 49.
9 diuinitatis] Dr Hort has suggested to me 'diuinitus' as a possible emendation.

10 cum semper Deus] Cf. Tert. *de Anim.* 51, quoted above p. 51.

12 contrectauimus] See above p. 49.

13 interfuistis] This gives us an ap-

ΝΕΑΝΙΣΚΟΙ ὕμῶν ὁράσεις ὄψονται, καὶ οἱ πρεσβῦται ὕμῶν ἐν-
 πνίοις ἐνγπνιασθήσονται. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὔτινες προφητείας καὶ ὁράσεις
 καινὰς δεχόμεθα καὶ ἐπιγινώσκουμεν καὶ τιμῶμεν πάσας τὰς
 δυνάμεις τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ὡς χορηγεῖ τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ
 πρὸς ἣν καὶ ἐπέμφθη πάντα τὰ χαρίσματα ἐν πᾶσιν διοικούν, 5
 ἐκάστῳ ὡς ἐμέρισεν ὁ θεός, ἀναγκαίως καὶ ἀναμνησκόμεν καὶ
 πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν εἰσάγομεν, μετὰ ἀγάπης ταῦτα ποιούντες εἰς
 δόξαν θεοῦ, καὶ ἵνα μὴ πως ἡ ἀβέβαιός τις καὶ ὀλιγόπιστος, ἡ
 καὶ τοῖς παλαιοῖς μόνον τὴν χάριν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν δίδοσθαι
 νομίση, εἴτε ἐν τοῖς τῶν μαρτύρων εἴτε ἐν τοῖς τῶν ἀποκαλύ- 10
 ψων ἀξιώμασιν· πάντοτε ἐργαζομένου τοῦ θεοῦ ἃ ἐπηγγεί-
 λατο εἰς μαρτύριον μὲν τῶν ἀπίστων εἰς ἀντίληψιν δὲ τῶν
 πιστῶν. καὶ ἡμεῖς ἃ ἠκούσαμεν καὶ ἑώρακαμεν καὶ ἐψηλαφήσαμεν
 εὐαγγελιζόμεθα ὑμῖν, ἀδελφοὶ καὶ τέκνα· ἵνα καὶ οἱ συμπαρόντες
 ἀναμνησθῶσιν δόξης θεοῦ, καὶ οἱ νῦν δι' ἀκοῆς γινώσκοντες 15
 ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΝ ἔχητε μετὰ τῶν ἁγίων μαρτύρων, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν μετὰ
 τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν
 αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

II. Ἐν πόλει Θουρβιτάνων τῇ μικροτέρᾳ συνελήφθησαν
 νεανίσκοι κατηχούμενοι, Ῥευκάτος καὶ Φηλικητάτη σύνδουλοι, 20
 καὶ Σατουρνῖλος καὶ Σεκοῦνδος· μετ' αὐτῶν δὲ καὶ Οὐιβία
 Περπετούα, ἥτις ἦν γεννηθεῖσα εὐγενῶς καὶ τραφεῖσα πολυτελῶς
 γαμηθεῖσα τε ἐξόχως. αὕτη εἶχεν πατέρα καὶ μητέρα καὶ δύο
 ἀδελφούς, ὧν ὁ ἕτερος ἦν ὡσαύτως κατηχούμενος· εἶχεν δὲ καὶ
 τέκνον, ὃ πρὸς τοῖς μασθοῖς ἔτι ἐθήλαζεν· ἦν δὲ αὕτη ἐτῶν εἴκοσι 25
 δύο· ἥτις πᾶσαν τὴν τάξιν τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐντεῦθεν διηγῆσατο,
 ὡς καὶ τῷ νοῦ αὐτῆς καὶ τῇ χειρὶ συγγράψασα κατέλειπεν οὕτως
 εἰποῦσα.

III. Ἐτι, φησὶν, ἡμῶν παρατηρουμένων ἐπεχειρεῖ ὁ πατήρ
 μοι λόγοις πείθειν με κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εὐσπλαγχνίαν τῆς 30

7 μετὰ ἀγάπης] *legebat didilectione.* 8 ἡ ἀβεβαιότης 12 εἰς ἀντιεῖς
 ἀντίληψιν 19 θουκριτάνων 21 ἰουλία καὶ περπετούα 23 αὕτη 25 αὕτη
 27 κατέλειπεν 30 εὐσπλαγχνίαν

proximate date for the compilation of the Martyrdom. It is addressed to some who were eye-witnesses. For the change of person in the Greek, see above p. 4.

18 *Reuocatus*, &c.] For the occurrence of the names in African Inscriptions see

Mr Harris's note *ad loc.*

21 *matronaliter nupta*] These words occur in an African Inscription; *C. I. L. Afr.* 870.

27 *deicere*] Cf. Tert. *ad Scap.* 4 *modice uexatam hominem et statim deiectum.*

perseueraret: Pater, inquam, uides, uerbi gratia, uas hoc iacens, urceolum siue aliud? et dixit: Video. et ego dixi ei: Numquid alio nomine uocari potest, quam quod est? et ait: Non. Sic et ego aliud me dicere non possum, nisi quod sum, Christiana.

5 tunc pater motus hoc uerbo mittit se in me, ut oculos mihi erueret: sed uexauit tantum, et profecto est uictus cum argumentis diaboli. tunc paucis diebus quod caruissem patrem, Domino gratias egi, et refrigeraui absentia illius. in ipso spatio paucorum dierum baptizati sumus: et mihi Spiritus

10 dictauit non aliud petendum ab aqua, nisi sufferentiam carnis. post paucos dies recipimur in carcerem: et expaui, quia numquam experta eram tales tenebras. o diem asperum! aestus ualidus turbarum beneficio, concussurae militum. nouissime macerabar sollicitudine infantis ibi. tunc Tertius et Pomponius,

15 benedicti diaconi qui nobis ministrabant, constituerunt praemio ut paucis horis emissi in meliorem locum carceris refrigeraremur. tunc exeuntes de carcere uniuersi sibi uacabant: ego infantem lactabam iam inedia defectum. sollicita pro eo adloquebar matrem et confortabam fratrem, commendabam filium. tabes-

20 cebam ideo quod illos tabescere uideram mei beneficio. tales sollicitudines multis diebus passa sum: et usurpauit ut mecum infans in carcere maneret; et statim conualui et releuata sum a

1 inquit A uidens B 3 quam quod est] C; quam quid est B; om. A
ait] dixit B 5 motus] + in B misit B 6 euerteret B uexauero B
profecto] profectus BC 8 deo B refrigeraui] conieci; refrigerauit A;
refrigerata sum BC 9 et mihi] mihi autem B 10 non] nihil B ab]
in B sufferentia B 12 tales experta eram B estus ualidus A; estos
ualidos B 13 concussura A; concussura B nouissimo B 15 con-
stituerunt praemium C; continuerunt premium B 16 ut] + hii A (cf. p. 62,
l. 13) missi B refrigeremur B 18 pro] de B 19 fratrem] matrem
B; fratri C 20 om. ideo B illos] illo A meo beneficio cum seqq. B

6 cum argumentis diaboli] Holsten quotes 'Antonius in vit. Simeonis styl. 6 cum signum crucis fecisset, continuo diabolus nusquam comparuit, cum argumento suo euauit: Anastas. Biblioth. [Lib. Pontif.] in Benedicto III. carmen uicit ac mundi principem et omnia eius argumenta nequissima.'

7 caruissem patrem] The acc. after 'carere' is found in Plautus and in late

writers: cf. Rönisch *I. und V.* pp. 414 f.

8 refrigeraui] I have restored this from a comparison of l. 16 'refrigeraremur'; p. 74, l. 16, p. 82, l. 8. One corruption gave 'refrigerauit' (A), making 'absentia' the nominative; another changed 'refrigeraui' into 'refrigerata sum' (BC). Comp. the change to the passive in B in l. 16.

10 ab aqua] For the first prayer after

προκειμένης ὁμολογίας ἐκπεσεῖν· καὶ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτόν· Πάτερ, ἔφην, ὁρᾷς λόγου χάριν σκεῦος κείμενον ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν τοιούτων; καὶ κείνος ἀπεκρίθη· Ὁρῶ. καὶ γὰρ· Ἄλλο ὀνομάζειν αὐτὸ μὴ θέμις; οὐδὲ δύναμαι, εἰ μὴ ὃ εἰμί, τουτέστι χριστιανή. τότε ὁ πατήρ μου ταραχθεὶς τῷδε τῷ λόγῳ ἐπελθὼν 5 ἠθέλησεν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς μου ἐξορύξαι· ἔπειτα μόνον κράξας, ἐξῆλθεν νικηθεὶς μετὰ τῶν τοῦ διαβόλου μηχανῶν. τότε ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἀποδημήσαντος αὐτοῦ, ἡὐχαρίστησα τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ ἦσθην ἀπόντος αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἐν αὐταῖς ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐβαπτίσθημεν· καὶ ἐμὲ ὑπηγόρευσε τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον μηδὲν ἄλλο 10 αἰτήσασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ βαπτίσματος εἰ μὴ σαρκὸς ὑπομονήν. μετὰ δὲ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἐβλήθημεν εἰς φυλακὴν, καὶ ἐξενίσθην· οὐ γὰρ πώποτε τοιοῦτον ἐωράκειν σκότος· ὥς δεινὴν ἡμέραν καὶ μὰ τε σφοδρόν· καὶ γὰρ ἀνθρώπων πλῆθος ἦν ἐκεῖ ἄλλως τε καὶ στρατιωτῶν συκοφανταῖς πλείσταις· μεθ' ἃ δὴ 15 πάντα κατεπονούμην διὰ τὸ νήπιον τέκνον. τότε Τέρτιος καὶ Πομπόνιος, εὐλογημένοι διάκονοι οἱ δικόνουν ἡμῖν, τιμὰς δόντες ἐποίησαν ἡμᾶς εἰς ἡμερώτερον τόπον τῆς φυλακῆς μεταχθῆναι. τότε ἀναπνοῆς ἐτύχομεν, καὶ δὴ ἕκαστοι προσαχθέντες ἐσχόλαζον ἑαυτοῖς· καὶ τὸ βρέφος ἠνέχθη πρὸς με, καὶ ἐπεδίδουν 20 αὐτῷ γάλα, ἥδη αὐχμῷ μαρανθέν· τῇ μητρὶ προσελάλουν, τὸν ἀδελφὸν προετρεπόμην, τὸ νήπιον παρετιθέμην· ἐτηκόμην δὲ ὅτι ἐθεώρουν αὐτοὺς δι' ἐμὲ λυπουμένους· οὕτως περίλυπος πλείσταις ἡμέραις οὖσα, ἤτησα καὶ τὸ βρέφος ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ μετ' ἐμοῦ μένειν· καὶ κείνο ἀνέλαβεν καὶ ἐγὼ ἐκουφίσθην ἀπὸ ἀνίας καὶ 25

6 μόνην 12 ἐκλήθημεν 13 ὡς] ὡ conl. Gebh. 17 παμπόνιος 24 ἤθησα

Baptism, cf. Tert. *de Bapt.* 20. Mr M. R. James gives me the following quotation from the unpublished Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena: ὁρθρον οὖν ταχὺ ἀναστᾶσα λαβὲ τὸ ἅγιον βάπτισμα καὶ αἰτῆσαι ἐν τῷ βαπτίσματι ῥυσθῆναι σε τῶν τοῦ δράκοντος παγίδων.

13 concussurae militum] The Greek translation takes this in the technical sense of unjust accusation for the sake of extortion; cf. Tert. *ad Scap.* 4 concussione eius intellecta; and *de Fuga* 12 miles concutit (cf. 13 ad init.). But the context seems here to require the sense

of 'rough treatment,' though perhaps with a view to extortion; cf. 'constituerunt praemio' below.

14 ibi. tunc] I have retained the punctuation of Cod. A.

22 conualni] 'conualuit' has been suggested to correspond with the Greek. But in this case we should have to suppose that the 't' was lost independently in both lines of the Latin text. Moreover we should introduce a harsh change of the subject, such as the Greek translation has endeavoured to modify by the addition of ἐκεῖνο.

labore et sollicitudine infantis: et factus est mihi carcer subito praetorium, ut ibi mallem essem quam alicubi.

IV. Tunc dixit mihi frater meus: Domina soror, iam in magna dignatione es, tanta ut postules uisionem et ostendatur
 5 tibi an passio sit an commeatus. et ego quae me sciebam fabulari cum Domino, cuius beneficio tanta experta eram, fidenter repromisi ei, dicens: Crastina die tibi renuntiabo. et postulauī, et ostensum est mihi hoc. uideo scalam aeream mirae magnitudinis pertingentem usque ad caelum, et an-
 10 gustam, per quam nonnisi singuli ascendere possent: et in lateribus scalae omne genus ferramentorum infixum. erant ibi gladii, lanceae, hami, macherae: ut, si quis neglegenter aut non sursum adtendens ascenderet, laniaretur et carnes eius inhaererent ferramentis. et erat sub ipsa scala draco cubans
 15 mirae magnitudinis, qui ascendentibus insidias praestabat, et exterrebat ne ascenderent. ascendit autem Saturus prior, qui postea se propter nos ultro tradiderat, quia ipse nos aedificauerat, et tunc cum adducti sumus praesens non fuerat. et peruenit in caput scalae, et conuertit se et dixit mihi:
 20 Perpetua, sustineo te: sed uide ne te mordeat draco ille. et dixi ego: Non me nocebit in nomine Iesu Christi. et desub

1 subito] quasi B	2 esse B	alibi BC	3 frater] pater B	4 dig-
nitate BC (<i>Ruin.</i>)	tanta] et tantese es B		6 beneficio] C (<i>Ruin.</i>); bene-	
ficia A; benefitia B	7 fidens B	repromissa ei B; repromissionibus eius		
C (<i>Ruin.</i>)	8 aeream] C; auream B; om. A	9 et] + ita B	10 om.	
per B	ascendi A	11 erat ibi gladium, lanceam, machere B	12 hami]	
ami A; om. B	13 ascendens adtenderet BC (+ et B)	14 inhaererent]		
+ in B	15 praestabat] parabat BC	17 ultra B	quia ipse nos	
aedificauerat] C; qui ipse nos edificauerat B; om. A	18 et (<i>pr.</i>)] ut BC			
adducti] adprehensi BC	19 in] ad B	conuertit] BC; euertit A	se]	
+ ad me BC	20 om. te (<i>sec.</i>) B	om. ille B	21 non me] nemo B	
nomine] + domini BC	et] + draco C			

2 praetorium] The sentence gains a new point when we think of the Martyrs as confined in the 'carcer' of the 'praetorium'; see above, p. 5. The remains of the Proconsular palace on the Byrsa are still to be traced: see Tissot *Géogr. de l'Afrique romaine* vol. I. pp. 649 ff.

mallem essem] I have restored 'essem' from Cod. A. Cf. Cic. *ad Fam.* VII. 14 mallem...cognoscerem (so Klotz; earlier edd. read 'cognoscere'). For other examples see Roby § 1608.

5 commeatus] A military term, meaning 'leave to come and go'; here 'release': see Holsten's note. The Greek

πόνου, καὶ ἰδοὺ ἡ φυλακὴ ἐμοὶ γέγονεν πραιτώριον, ὡς μᾶλλον με ἐκεῖ θέλειν εἶναι, καὶ οὐκ ἀλλαχοῦ.

IV. Τότε εἶπέν μοι ὁ ἀδελφός· Κυρία ἀδελφή, ἤδη ἐν μεγάλῳ ἀξιώματι ὑπάρχεις, τοσαύτη οὖσα ὡς εἰ αἰτήσεως ὀπτασίας ὀπτασίαν λάβοις ἂν εἰς τὸ δειχθῆναί σοι εἶπερ 5 ἀναβολὴν ἔχεις ἢ παθεῖν μέλλεις. καὶ γὰρ ἥτις ἤδεν με ὀμιλοῦσαν θεῷ, οὐ γὰρ διὰ τοσαύτας εὐεργεσίας εἶχον, πίστεως πλήρης οὖσα, ἐπηγγειλάμην αὐτῷ εἰποῦσα· Αὐριὸν σοι ἀπαγγελῶ. ἡτσησάμην δέ, καὶ ἐδείχθη μοι τοῦτο· εἶδον κλίμακα χαλκῇν θαυμαστοῦ μήκους· ἥς τὸ μήκος ἄχρις οὐρανοῦ· στενὴ δὲ ἦν ὡς μηδένα δι' 10 αὐτῆς δύνασθαι εἰ μὴ μοναχὸν ἓνα ἀναβῆναι· ἐξ ἑκατέρων δὲ τῶν τῆς κλίμακος μερῶν πᾶν εἶδος ἦν ἐμπετηγημένον ἐκεῖ ξιφῶν, δοράτων, ἀγκίστρων, μαχαιρῶν, ὀβελίσκων· ἵνα πᾶς ὁ ἀναβαίνων ἀμελῶς καὶ μὴ ἀναβλέπων τοῖς ἀκοντίοις τὰς σάρκας σπαραχθεῖν· ἦν δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῇ τῇ κλίμακι δράκων ὑπερμεγέθης, ὃς δὴ τοὺς ἀνα- 15 βαίνοντας ἐνήδρευεν, ἐκθαμβῶν ὅπως μὴ τολμῶσιν ἀναβαίνειν. ἀνέβη δὲ ὁ Σάτυρος· ὃς δὴ ὕστερον δι' ἡμᾶς ἐκὼν παρέδωκεν ἑαυτόν· αὐτοῦ γὰρ καὶ οἰκοδομὴ ἦμεν· ἀλλ' ὅτε συνελήφθημεν ἀπῆν. ὡς οὖν πρὸς τὸ ἄκρον τῆς κλίμακος παρεγένετο, ἐστράφη, καὶ εἶπεν· Περπετούα, περιμένω σε· ἀλλὰ βλέπε μή σε ὁ δράκων 20 δάκῃ· καὶ εἶπον· Οὐ μὴ με βλάψῃ, ἐν ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ. καὶ ὑποκάτω τῆς κλίμακος ὥσεὶ φοβούμενός με ἡρέμα τὴν

6 ἥτις] αἰτεῖς

9 κλῆμα καχαλκῇν

12 κλήματος

13 ἀγκίστρων

ἀναβολὴν is wrong, conveying only the idea of deferred punishment.

6 cuius beneficio] Cf. 'turbarum beneficio' and 'mei beneficio' just above: and for Perpetua's fondness for repeating a phrase see above, p. 45. This reading leaves 'experta eram' the same sense of 'experiencing hardship' as above, p. 64, l. 12.

8 scalam aeream] Our authorities vary between 'aeream' and 'auream.' The best of them (A) omits the epithet altogether. B has 'auream'; C (with g) 'aeream.' The Short Latin MSS. present the same uncertainty. Aubé, editing from several Paris MSS., has simply

'scalam erectam': the texts printed by Pillet have 'aeream' as well: Holsten gives a somewhat abbreviated form from Petrus Calo, and this, as well as a yet briefer form which follows it in his edition, has 'auream.' The account in the Basilian Menology (see above, p. 22) has σκάλαν χαλκῇν. On the whole therefore the evidence is in favour of 'aeream.' A friend has suggested to me 'aeriam': but either of the other epithets suits the context well enough.

13 carnes eius] Cp. *Ep. Vien. et Lugd.* (Eus. *H. E.* v. 1. 24) where τῶν σωματῶν is used of a single martyr.

ipsa scala, quasi timens me, lente eiecit caput: et quasi primum gradum calcarem, calcaui illi caput. et ascendi, et uidi spatium immensum horti, et in medio sedentem hominem canum, in habitu pastoris, grandem, oues mulgentem: et circumstantes candidati milia multa. et leuauit caput et aspexit me, et dixit mihi: Bene uenisti, tignon. et clamauit me, et de caseo quod mulgebat dedit mihi quasi buccellam; et ego accepi iunctis manibus, et manducaui: et uniuersi circumstantes dixerunt Amen. et ad sonum uocis experrecta sum, commanducans adhuc dulcis nescio quid. et retuli statim fratri meo, et intelleximus passionem esse futuram: et coepimus nullam iam spem in saeculo habere.

V. Post paucos dies rumor cucurrit ut audiremur. superuenit autem et de ciuitate pater meus, consumptus taedio: et ascendit ad me, ut me deiceret, dicens: Miserere, filia, canis meis; miserere patri, si dignus sum a te pater uocari; si his te manibus ad hunc florem aetatis prouexi; si te praeposui omnibus fratribus tuis: ne me dederis in dedecus hominum. aspice fratres tuos: aspice matrem tuam et materteram: aspice filium tuum, qui post te uiuere non poterit. depone animos; ne uniuersos nos extermines: nemo enim nostrum libere loquetur, si tu aliquid fueris passa. haec dicebat pater pro sua pietate, basians mihi manus, et se ad pedes meos iactans: et lacrymis

1 om. ipsa B	eiecit] eleuauit BC	quasi (sec.)] cum BC	2 calca-
rem] calcassem B	illi] illius C	4 canum] sanum A	5 candidatos
BC	6 om. me (pr.) B	uenies tegnum B	9 om. uocis A
sum] + et B	10 adhuc dulcis] (Ruin.); adhuc dulci B; om. A	om. et	
(pr.) B	om. et (sec.) B	11 nullam] nulla A	cepimus iam nullam B
13 ut] quod B	13, 14 superuenit autem et] et superuenit B	14 om. et	
(sec.) A	15 miserere filia canis meis] miserere filia patri C; filia miserere patri B	16 patri] patris A; canis meis B	a] ad B
proposui B	18 dedecus] opproprium B	18, 19 aspice fratres—	
filium] A; aspice ad fratres tuos, aspice ad filium B	20 potest B	20, 21	
ne uniuersos nos extermines] et noli nos uniuersos exterminare BC	21 om.		
enim B	loquitur B	22 feceris B	dicebat] + quasi B
		23 lacrymis	

me] iam lacrimans B; etiam lacrimans C

2 calcaui illi caput] The mosaic pavement of a Basilica, which is supposed to be that mentioned by Victor Vitensis (see above, p. 22), represents a

woman holding a palm and treading upon a serpent; cf. Tissot *ibid.* vol. II. p. 805.

5 candidati] This reading (A) is sup-

κεφαλὴν προσήνεγκεν· καὶ ὡς εἰς τὸν πρῶτον βαθμὸν ἠθέλησα ἐπιβῆναι, τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ ἐπάτησα. καὶ εἶδον ἐκεῖ κῆπον μέγιστον, καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ κήπου ἄνθρωπον πολὺν καθεζόμενον ποιμένος σχῆμα ἔχοντα ὑπερμεγέθη, ὃς ἤλμευγε τὰ πρόβατα· περιεστήκεισαν δὲ αὐτῷ πολλαὶ χιλιάδες λευχειμονούντων· 5 ἐπάρας δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐθεάσατό με καὶ εἶπεν· Καλῶς ἐλήλυθας, τέκνον. καὶ ἐκάλεσέν με, καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τυροῦ οὗ ἤλμευγεν ἔδωκέν μοι ὥσεὶ ψωμίον· καὶ ἔλαβον ζεύξασα τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ ἔφαγον· καὶ εἶπαν πάντες οἱ παρεστῶτες· Ἀμήν. καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἦχον τῆς φωνῆς ἐξυπνίσθη ἐτι τί ποτε μασωμένη γλυκύ· καὶ 10 εὐθέως διηγησάμην τῷ ἀδελφῷ καὶ ἐνόησαμεν ὅτι δέοι παθεῖν· καὶ ἡρξάμην ἔκτοτε μηδεμίαν ἐλπίδα ἐν τῷ αἵωνι τούτῳ ἔχειν.

V. Μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας ὀλίγας ἔγνωμεν μέλλειν ἡμᾶς ἀκουσθήσεσθαι· παρεγένετο δὲ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐκ τῆς πολλῆς ἀποδημίας μαραινόμενος, καὶ ἀνέβη πρὸς με προτρεπόμενός με καταβαλεῖν, 15 λέγων· Θύγατερ, ἐλέησον τὰς πολιὰς μου· ἐλέησον τὸν πατέρα σου, εἴπερ ἄξιός εἰμι ὀνομασθῆναι πατὴρ σου· μνήσθητι ὅτι ταῖς χερσὶν ταύταις πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον ἄνθος τῆς ἡλικίας ἀνήγαγόν σε· καὶ προειλόμην σε ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀδελφούς σου· ὅρα τὴν σὴν μητέρα καὶ τὴν τῆς μητρός σου ἀδελφὴν, ἴδε τὸν υἱόν σου ὃς μετὰ 20 σέ ζῇν οὐ δύναται· ἀπόθου τοὺς θυμούς καὶ μὴ ἡμᾶς πάντας ἐξολοθρεύσης· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἡμῶν μετὰ παρρησίας λαλήσει, ἐάν τί σοι συμβῇ. ταῦτα ἔλεγεν ὡς πατὴρ κατὰ τὴν τῶν γονέων εὐνοίαν· καὶ κατεφίλει μου τὰς χεῖρας καὶ ἐαντὸν ἔρριπτεν ἔμπροσθεν τῶν ποδῶν μου καὶ ἐπιδακρύων οὐκέτι με θυγατέρα ἀλλὰ κυρίαν 25

5 λευσχημονουντων

11 ἐνόησαμεν

ported by the Greek version, which likewise makes a new sentence, instead of giving another acc. case as BC. For similar instances where the verb is omitted, cf. p. 72, l. 13 et vulnus in facie &c., and p. 74, l. 8 et super margine fiala aurea plena aqua.

8 dixerunt Amen] That the action at this point is at least partly Eucharistic is suggested by this phrase: but I do not know of any instance in which the 'Amen' at the reception is said by any but the recipient. Cf. Tert. de

Spectac. 25, with Oehler's note. Milk and honey were given immediately after Baptism, and sometimes with the first Communion (Oehler on Tert. de Coron. 3, note h). 'Iunctis manibus' is the natural action to catch the dripping morsel. On the whole question of the Elements in the Eucharist see Harnack's *Brod und Wasser* (*Texte und Unters.* VII. 2, pp. 117 ff.).

15 ascendit] For the local allusion see note on 'praetorium' above, p. 66, l. 2.

me non filiam nominabat, sed dominam. et ego dolebam causam patris mei, quod solus de passione mea gauisurus non esset de toto genere meo; et confortauit eum, dicens: Hoc fiet in illa catasta quod Deus uoluerit: scito enim nos non in nostra esse potestate constitutos, sed in Dei. et recessit a me contristatus.

VI. Alio die cum pranderemus, subito rapti sumus ut audiremur: et peruenimus ad forum. rumor statim per uicinas fori partes cucurrit, et factus est populus immensus. ascendimus in catastam. interrogati ceteri confessi sunt. uentum est et ad me. et apparuit pater ilico cum filio meo, et extraxit me de gradu, supplicans: Miserere infanti. et Hilarianus procurator, qui tunc loco proconsulis Minuci Timiniani defuncti ius gladii acceperat: Parce, inquit, canis patris tui: parce infantiae pueri. fac sacrum pro salute Imperatorum. et ego respondi: Non facio. Hilarianus, Christiana es? inquit. et ego respondi: Christiana sum. et cum staret pater ad me deiciendam, iussus est ab Hilariano deici, et uirga percussit. et doluit mihi casus patris mei, quasi ego fuisset percussa: sic dolui pro senecta eius misera. tunc nos uniuersos pronuntiat, et damnat ad bestias: et hilares descendimus ad carcerem. tunc quia consueuerat a me infans mammas accipere, et mecum in carcere manere, statim mitto ad patrem Pomponium diaconum,

1 nominabat sed dominam] sed dominam me uocabat B dominam]
domina A om. et B 2 causam] canos B 4 casta B quod
deus] quodns B 4, 5 non in—dei] in dei non in nostra potestate futuros B
5 me] + pater B 8 om. et B 9 partes fori B 9, 10 et ascen-
dimus catastam B 10 in catasta A 11 pater ilico] ibi pater B
12 gradu]+ et dixit B infanti] canos meos BC (Ruin.) helarianus
B 13 loco] in locum BC defuncti proconsulis minutii teminiani B
14 dixit parce canos B 16 fatiam et helarianus, ergo christiana es? et ego B
17 cum staret] contemptaret B om. ad B 18 elariano B deici] proici
B percussit] percussus est BC 20 dolui] mihi doluit B; enim dolui C
misera] Miser cum seqq. B uniuersos nos B 22 mammam B 23 pom-
pinianum BC

1 sed dominam] Cf. 'domina soror,' p. 66, l. 3. This title of respect is given to brothers and sons in funeral inscriptions: e.g. C.I.L. Afr. 333 DOMINO MEO FRATRI, and 2862 FILIO ET DOMINO MEO.

4 quod Deus uoluerit] Cf. *Acta Montani* 12 (Ruin. p. 234) credebat id fieri quod Deus uellet. This confirms the reading 'Deus': for other phrases in this Martyrdom are borrowed from ours.

12 supplicans] The Greek translator

ἐπεκάλει· ἐγὼ δὲ περὶ τῆς διαθέσεως τοῦ πατρὸς ἤλγουν, ὅτι ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ ἐμῷ γένει μόνος οὐκ ἠγαλλιᾶτο ἐν τῷ ἐμῷ πάθει. παρεμυθησάμην δὲ αὐτὸν εἰπούσα· Τοῦτο γενήσεται ἐν τῷ βήματι ἐκείνῳ [δ] εἰάν θέλῃ ὁ κύριος· γνωθὶ γὰρ ὅτι οὐκ ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐσόμεθα· καὶ ἐχωρίσθη 5 ἀπ' ἐμοῦ ἀδημονῶν. ✓

VI. Καὶ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ ὥριστο ἡρπάγημεν ἵνα ἀκουσθῶμεν· καὶ ὥσπερ ἐγενήθημεν εἰς τὴν ἀγορὰν φήμη εὐθύς εἰς τὰ ἐγγύς μέρη διήλθεν, καὶ συνέδραμεν πλείστος ὄχλος· ὥς δὲ ἀνέβημεν εἰς τὸ βῆμα ἐξετασθέντες οἱ λοιποὶ ὠμολόγησαν· ἤμελλον δὲ 10 καὶ ἐξετάζεσθαι· καὶ ἐφάνη ἐκεῖ μετὰ τοῦ τέκνου μου ὁ πατήρ· καὶ καταγαγὼν με πρὸς ἑαυτόν, εἶπεν· Ἐπίθυσον ἐλεήσασα τὸ βρέφος· καὶ Ἰλαριανὸς τις ἐπίτροπος, ὃς τότε τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου ἀποθανόντος Μινουκίου Ὀππιάνου ἐξουσίαν εἰλήφει μαχαίρας, λέγει μοι· Φείσαι τῶν πολιῶν τοῦ πατρός σου· φείσαι τῆς τοῦ 15 παιδίου νηπιότητος· ἐπίθυσον ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας τῶν αὐτοκρατόρων· καὶ ἐπεκρίθην· Οὐ θύω· καὶ εἶπεν Ἰλαριανός· Χριστιανὴ εἶ; καὶ εἶπον· Χριστιανὴ εἰμι· καὶ ὥς ἐσπούδαζεν ὁ πατήρ μου καταβαλεῖν με ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμολογίας, κελεύσαντος Ἰλαριάνου ἐξεβλήθη· προσέτι δὲ καὶ τῇ ῥάβδῳ τῶν δορυφόρων τις ἐτύπτησεν 20 αὐτόν· καὶ ἐσφόδρα ἤλγησα, ἐλεήσασα τὸ γῆρας αὐτοῦ· τότε ἡμᾶς πάντας πρὸς θηρία κατακρίνει· καὶ χαίροντες κατήμεν εἰς φυλακὴν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ ἐθελάζετο τὸ παιδίον, καὶ μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ εἰώθει μένειν, πέμπω πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μου Πομπόνιον διάκονον, αἰτούσα τὸ βρέφος· ὁ δὲ πατήρ οὐκ 25

4 om. δ

14 ὀπιανού

17 ἡλαριανος

probably read 'et dixit: sacrificans.'

13 Minuci Timiniani] On the vexed question of the proconsul's name see Mr Harris's Introduction, p. 9. The practical concurrence of Codd. A and B leaves no hope of further light from the reading of the Greek version.

18 et uirga percussit] This reading is supported by the Gk ἐτύπτησεν. Either therefore a word has fallen out, or perhaps Hilarian himself losing his temper struck Perpetua's father with the wand which he bore as judge.

21 hilares] Possibly this is a play upon

the name Hilarianus. The contrast is still more striking with the reading of B: 'Miser tunc uniuersos nos pronuntiat'; but this reading (though the omission of any epithet of γῆρας in the Gk is in its favour) makes 'tunc' the second word in the sentence. The reading of C is not recorded. A play upon words has occurred just before in 'deiciendam...deici'.

descendimus ad carcerem] This is explained by 'ascendimus in catastam,' l. 9. But they return to the proconsular prison on the Byrsa above the town; see above, p. 66.

postulans infantem. sed pater dare noluit. et quomodo Deus uoluit, neque ille amplius mammas desiderat, neque mihi feruorem fecerunt: ne sollicitudine infantis et dolore mammarum macerarer.

- 5 VII. Post dies paucos, dum uniuersi oramus, subito media oratione profecta est mihi uox, et nominaui Dinocraten: et obstipui quod numquam mihi in mentem uenisset nisi tunc; et dolui commemorata casus eius. et cognoui me statim dignam esse, et pro eo petere debere. et coepi de ipso orationem facere
 10 multum, et ingemiscere ad Dominum. continuo ipsa nocte ostensum est mihi hoc. uideo Dinocraten exeuntem de loco tenebroso, ubi et complura loca erant tenebrosa, aestuantem valde et sitientem, sordido uultu et colore pallido; et uulnus in facie eius, quod cum moreretur habuit. hic Dinocrates fuerat
 15 frater meus carnalis, annorum septem, qui per infirmitatem facie cancerata male obiit, ita ut mors eius odio fuerit omnibus hominibus. pro hoc ergo orationem feceram: et inter me et illum grande erat diastema, ita ut uterque ad inuicem accedere non possemus. erat deinde in ipso loco ubi Dinocrates erat
 20 piscina plena aqua, altiorem marginem habens quam erat statura pueri: et extendebat se Dinocrates quasi bibiturus. ego dolebam quod et piscina illa aquam habebat, et tamen propter altitudinem marginis bibiturus non esset. et experrecta sum, et cognoui fratrem meum laborare. sed fidebam me profuturam
 25 labori eius: et orabam pro eo omnibus diebus quousque transiimus in carcerem castrensem: munere enim castrensi eramus

2	mammam B	desiderauit B	3	effecerunt B	et dolore] aut	
dolorem B	4	maceraret A*B	5	subito ante dum B	oremus B	
6	profecta] prolatum B	om. uox B		nomina. Vidicraten A; nomina.		
Vidinograte B	7	mente A	8	memorato casu B	9	patere B;
pati C (Ruin.)	de] pro B	10	multam B	deum B	11	hoc]+ in
*oromate C; + in oratione B	12	et complura loca] cum plures B		om. tene-		
brosa B	13	ualde post sitientem B	14	moraretur B	abiit AB	16 om.
ita B	17	om. et (pr.) B	18	diadema A; idiantem B; dianten C (Ruin.)		
om. ita B	19	possumus B	om. in ipso loco A	erat dinogratiss B		
20	aquae B	habens marginem quam staturam pueri B	22	haberet BC		
24	confidebam B; considerabam C	me profuturam] profuturam orationem				
meam BC	25	om. omnibus diebus A	26	carcerem castrensem: munere]		
carcere. Munera B						

ἔδωκεν· πλὴν ὡς ὁ θεὸς ᾧ κονόμησεν οὔτε ὁ παῖς μασθοὺς ἐπέ-
θύμησεν ἕκτοτε, οὔτε ἐμοὶ τις προσγένονεν φλεγμονή· ἴσως ἵνα
[μῆ] καὶ τῇ τοῦ παιδίου φροντίδι καὶ τῇ τῶν μασθῶν ἀλγηδόνι
καταπονηθῶ.

VII. Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας προσευχομένων ἡμῶν ἀπάντων 5
ἐξαίφνης ἐν μέσῳ τῆς προσευχῆς ἀφῆκα φωνὴν καὶ ὠνόμασα
Δεινοκράτην. καὶ ἔκθαμβος ἐγενήθην, διότι οὐδέποτε εἰ μὴ τότε
ἀνάμνησιν αὐτοῦ πεποιήκειν· ἤλγησα δὲ εἰς μνήμην ἐλθοῦσα τῆς
αὐτοῦ τελευτῆς. πλὴν εὐθέως ἔγνων ἐμαυτὴν ἀξίαν οὔσαν
αἵτησιν ποιήσασθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἡρξάμην πρὸς Κύριον μετὰ 10
στεναγμῶν προσεύχεσθαι τὰ πλεῖστα· καὶ εὐθέως αὐτῇ τῇ
νυκτὶ ἐδηλώθη μοι τοῦτο. ὁρῶ Δεινοκράτην ἐξερχόμενον ἐκ
τόπου σκοτεινοῦ, ὅπου καὶ ἄλλοι πολλοὶ καυματιζόμενοι καὶ
διψῶντες ἦσαν, ἐσθῆτα ἔχοντα ῥυπαράν, ὠχρὸν τῇ χροᾷ· καὶ
τὸ τραῦμα ἐν τῇ ὄψει αὐτοῦ τελευτῶν ὅπερ περιῶν ἔτι εἶχεν. 15
οὗτος δὲ ὁ Δεινοκράτης, ὁ ἀδελφός μου κατὰ σάρκα, ἐπταετῆς
τεθνήκει ἀσθενήσας καὶ τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ γαγγραίνῃ σαπὺς ὡς
τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ στυγητὸν γενέσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. ἐθεώ-
ρουν οὖν μέγα διάστημα ἀνὰ μέσον αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐμοῦ, ὡς μὴ
δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς ἀλλήλοις προσελθεῖν. ἐν ἐκείνῳ δὲ τῷ τόπῳ 20
ἐν ᾧ ἦν ὁ ἀδελφός μου κολυμβήθρα ἦν ὕδατος πλήρης· ὑψηλωτέ-
ραν δὲ εἶχεν τὴν κρηπίδα ὑπὲρ τὸ τοῦ παιδίου μῆκος· πρὸς ταύ-
την ὁ Δεινοκράτης διετείνετο πιεῖν προαιρούμενος· ἐγὼ δὲ ἤλγουν
διότι καὶ ἡ κολυμβήθρα ἦν πλήρης ὕδατος, καὶ τὸ παιδίον οὐκ
ἡδύνατο πιεῖν διὰ τὴν ὑψηλότητα τῆς κρηπίδος· καὶ ἐξυπνίσθην. 25
καὶ ἔγνων κάμνειν τὸν ἀδελφόν μου· ἐπεποίθειν δὲ δύνασθαι
με αὐτῷ βοηθῆσαι ἐν ταῖς ἀνὰ μέσον ἡμέραις, ἐν αἷς κατήχθημεν
εἰς τὴν ἄλλην φυλακὴν τὴν τοῦ χιλιάρχου· ἐγγὺς γὰρ ἦν
τῆς παρεμβολῆς οὗ ἡμέλλομεν θηριομαχεῖν· γενέθλιον γὰρ ἡμελ-

3 om. μῆ

15 *legebat cum* B *moraretur*

16 ὡς ἀδελφός

12 ubi et complura loca erant tene-
brosa] Cf. *Acta Thomae* c. 52 ἀνθρωπός
τις παρέλαβέ με ἀπέχθης τῇ εἰδέῃ, μέλας
ὄλος, ἥ δὲ τούτου ἐσθῆς πάνυ ρερυπωμένη·
ἀπήγαγε δέ με εἰς τινα τόπον ἐν ᾧ πολλὰ
χάσματα ὑπῆρχε, κ.τ.λ. For the con-
nection between the Visions and the
Apoc. of Peter see above, pp. 37 ff.

14 *habuit*] The form 'abiit' AB may
be a vulgar Latin form of 'habuit.'

Rönsch quotes 'habui' from *Plant.*
Asin. III. 3. 32.

15 *carnalis*] Cf. *Eph.* vi. 5 *dominis*
carnalibus (|| *Col.* iii. 22). In *Ep. Vien.*
et Lugd. (*Eus. H. E.* v. 1. 18) τῆς σαρ-
κίνης δεσποίνης we may perhaps trace the
influence of a Latin Version (κατὰ σάρκα
= *carnalis* = *σαρκίνης*: see further in the
separate note on p. 97).

20 *piscina*] See above, p. 29.

pugnaturi: natale tunc Getae Caesaris. et feci pro illo orationem die et nocte gemens et lacrymans ut mihi donaretur.

VIII. Die quo in neruo mansimus, ostensum est mihi hoc. uideo locum illum quem retro uideram, et Dinocraten mundo
5 corpore, bene uestitum, refrigerantem; et ubi erat uulnus, uideo cicatricem: et piscinam illam quam retro uideram, summisso
margine usque ad umbilicum pueri; et aquam de ea trahebat sine cessatione: et super margine fiala aurea plena aqua; et
accessit Dinocrates, et de ea bibere coepit: quae fiala non defi-
10 ciebat. et satiatus accessit de aqua ludere more infantium gaudens. et experrecta sum. tunc intellexi translatum eum esse de poena.

IX. Deinde post dies paucos Pudens, miles optio praepositus carceris, qui nos magnificare coepit intellegens magnam
15 uirtutem esse in nobis, multos ad nos admittebat, ut et nos et illi inuicem refrigeraremus. ut autem proximauit dies muneris, intrat ad me pater meus consumptus taedio, et coepit
barbam suam euellere et in terram mittere, et prosternere se in faciem, et inproperare annis suis, et dicere tanta uerba
20 quae mouerent uniuersam creaturam. ego dolebam pro infelici senecta eius.

X. Pridie quam pugnaremus, uideo in horomate hoc uenisse

1 natali cesaris	<i>cum preced.</i> B	Getae] cetae A; om. BC (<i>Ruin.</i>)
2 om. gemens A	3 die] + autem B	4 om. retro B uideram] +
tenebrosum esse lucidum B	6 retro] p̄ B	6, 7 summissa marginum B
8 margine] marginem BC	fiala] + erat BC	9 quae] et quasi B
10 siciatus accessit de aqua ludere A; accessit ludere satiatus de aqua C; accessit deludere satiatus de ea aqua B	infantum C	11 tunc] et B
13 Prudens C	14 magnificare coepit intellegens] BC; magnifice coepit intelligere A	
15 uirtutem] + dei B	nobis] + qui A	multos] + fratres BC
16 ille B	refrigeremus B	om. autem B
17 intrauit B	18 om. et (sec.) B	
19 inproperare] inproperans se B	20 moueretur A	22 hoc] huc B

1 Getae Caesaris] See above, p. 25, n. 3.

3 die quo in neruo] This was an unusual severity: but it is mentioned merely as a note of time (cf. p. 70, l. 7 alio die cum pranderemus). The Greek translator or his copyist (ἐσπερα may be for ἡμερα) found a difficulty in this de-

parture from the custom of allowing prisoners some relaxation in the day-time.

4 retro] = 'antea'; cf. Rönisch *I. u. V.* 343. Tertullian frequently so uses it.

14 magnificare] If we accept the reading of A, 'magnifice, coepit intelligere,' we must suppose that a verb like

λεν ἐπιτελείσθαι Καίσαρος. εἴτα προσευξαμένη μετὰ στεναγμῶν σφοδρῶς περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μου ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς δωρηθῆναι μοι αὐτὸν ἠξίωσα.

VIII. Καὶ εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ ἐσπέρᾳ ἐν ᾗ ἐν νέρβῳ ἐμείναμεν, ἐδείχθη μοι τοῦτο. ὁρῶ *τόπῳ* ἐν ᾧ ἐωράκειν τὸν Δεινοκρά- 5 την, καθαρῶ σώματι ὄντα, καὶ καλῶς ἡμφιεσμένον καὶ ἀναψύχοντα· καὶ ὅπου τὸ τραῦμα ἦν οὐλὴν ὁρῶ· καὶ ἡ κρηπὶς τῆς κολυμβήθρας κατήχθη ἕως τοῦ ὀμφαλίου αὐτοῦ· ἔρρεεν δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀδιαλείπτως ὕδωρ· καὶ ἐπάνω τῆς κρηπίδος ἦν χρυσὴ φιάλη μεστή· καὶ προσελθὼν ὁ Δεινοκράτης ἤρξατο ἐξ 10 αὐτῆς πίνειν· ἡ δὲ φιάλη οὐκ ἐνέλειπεν. καὶ ἐμπλησθεὶς ἤρξατο παίζειν ἀγαλλιώμενος ὡς τὰ νήπια· καὶ ἐξυπνίσθη. καὶ ἐνόησα ὅτι μετετέθη ἐκ τῶν τιμωριῶν.

IX. Καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας Πούδης τις στρατιώτης ὁ τῆς φυλακῆς προϊστάμενος μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς σπουδῆς ἤρξατο ἡμᾶς 15 τιμᾶν καὶ δοξάζειν τὸν θεόν, ἐννοῶν δύναμιν μεγάλην εἶναι περὶ ἡμᾶς· διὸ καὶ πολλοὺς εἰσελθεῖν πρὸς ἡμᾶς οὐκ ἐκώλυεν εἰς τὸ ἡμᾶς διὰ τῶν ἐπαλλήλων παραμυθιῶν παρηγορεῖσθαι. ἠγγισεν δὲ ἡ ἡμέρα τῶν φιλοτιμιῶν καὶ εἰσέρχεται πρὸς με ὁ πατήρ, τῇ ἀκηδία μαρανθεὶς, καὶ ἤρξατο τὸν πώγωνα τὸν ἴδιον ἐκτίλλειν 20 ῥίπτειν τε ἐπὶ γῆς· καὶ πρηνὴς κατακείμενος κακολογεῖν τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἔτη κατηγορῶν καὶ λέγων τοιαῦτα ῥήματα ὡς πᾶσαν δύνασθαι τὴν κτίσιν σαλεύσαι· ἐγὼ δὲ ἐπένθουν διὰ τὸ ταλαίπωρον γῆρας αὐτοῦ.

X. Πρὸ μίᾳς οὖν τοῦ θηριομαχεῖν ἡμᾶς, βλέπω ὄραμα τοιοῦ- 25

6 καλλως

12 ἐνόησα

14 πούδης τιστρατιωτης

20 ἐκτελλειν

'contempserat' has fallen out after the adverb. The reading of BC, which I have adopted in despair, seems to be a correction, and may have been made at first in the margin, as the Greek μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς σπουδῆς points to the adverb 'magnifice.' It is objectionable (1) as obscuring the gradual change in the attitude of Pudens, who at first treated them badly (cf. note on l. 3), and ended by believing (p. 86, l. 6 and p. 92, l. 6): (2) as expelling 'qui' (before 'multos'), though it is quite in Perpetua's style (cf. l. 9 quae fiala non deficiebat; p. 76, l. 2 qui

erat uestitus). Holsten edited 'magni faciebat' which is open to the first of these objections.

22 in horomate] For the form cf. Rönisch *I. u. V.* p. 254.

hoc uenisse] 'Hoc' is for 'huc,' as in Plautus &c.: see Facciolati *s. verb.* 'hic.' So on tombs, HOC MANSVM VENI, and ALIVS HOC INFERETVR NEMO. Also in Cod. Bezae, Mt. xvii. 17 adferte mihi illum hoc. The Greek translator misunderstood its meaning, as also did Holsten, who put a colon after it.

Pomponium diaconum ad ostium carceris, et pulsare uehementer. et exiui ad eum, et aperui ei: qui erat uestitus discinctam candidam, habens multiplices galliculas. et dixit mihi: Perpetua, te exspectamus: ueni. et tenuit mihi manum, et coepimus ire
 5 per aspera loca et flexuosa. uix tandem peruenimus anhelantes ad amphitheatrum, et induxit me in media arena. et dixit mihi: Noli pauere; hic sum tecum, et conlaboro tecum. et abiit. et adspicio populum ingentem adtonitum. et quia sciebam me ad bestias datam esse, mirabar quod non mitterentur mihi bestiae.
 10 et exiuit quidam contra me Aegyptius foedus specie cum adiutoribus suis pugnaturus mecum. ueniunt et ad me adolescentes decori adiutores et fautores mei. et expoliata sum, et facta sum masculus. et coeperunt me fautores mei oleo defrigere, quomodo solent in agonem: et illum contra Aegyptium uideo in afa-
 15 uolutantem. et exiuit uir quidam mirae magnitudinis, ut etiam excederet fastigium amphitheatri, discinctatus purpuram inter duos clauos per medium pectus, habens galliculas multiformes ex auro et argento factas: efferens uirgam quasi lanista, et ramum uiridem in quo erant mala aurea. et petiit silentium, et
 20 dixit: Hic Aegyptius, si hanc uicerit, occidet illam gladio; et, si hunc uicerit, accipiet ramum istum. et recessit. et accessi-

1 *om.* carceris B pulsasse B 2 *om.* et (*pr.*) B distinctam candidam A; discincta candida BC 3 galliculas] C; calliculas AB (+ex auro et argento B) 4, 5 *om.* et coepimus—uix B 5 peruenimus anelantes A; ambulantes peruenimus B 6 medio arenae B 7 pauere] expauescere B 8 adtonito B
om. me B 9 bestiam B datum A; donatam B (? *lege* damnatam) mitte-
 bantur B 10 contra me quidam B 11 et ad me ueniunt B 12 fau-
 tores] factores (*om.* mei et) B *om.* et facta sum B 13 masculos B faui-
 sores A; factores B defrigere] defrigare B; defricare C 14 in agone BC
 afa] aqua BC 15 etiam] iam B 16 discinctatus] discinctam habens tunicam
 et BC 17 habens]+et B galliculas] C (*Ruin.*); calliculas AB 18 efferens]
 et ferens BC uirga A 19 petit B 20 et] haec BC 21 acci-
 piat B istud A

3 galliculas] Cf. l. 17. The word is used by the scholiast on Juv. *Sat.* III. 67 (Mayor *ad loc.*) in explaining *trechedipna*: uestimenta parasitica uel galliculas currentium ad cenam.

6 amphitheatrum] Descriptions of the amphitheatre at Carthage by El-Bekri and El-Edrisi are quoted by Tissot,

Géogr. de l'Afr. romaine, vol. I. pp. 645 ff. in media arena] We might easily read the acc. case (cf. note on p. 60, l. 12). But the confusion between the cases in expressing rest and motion is regarded by Sittl as characteristically African (*Lokal. Verschied.* pp. 128 ff.). Compare 'in medio,' p. 92, l. 19.

τον. Πομπόνιος ὁ διάκονος, φησίν, ἦλθεν πρὸς τὴν θύραν τῆς φυλακῆς καὶ ἔκρουσεν σφόδρα· ἐξελθοῦσα ἡνοιξα αὐτῷ· καὶ ἦν ἐνδεδυμένος ἐσθῆτα λαμπρὰν καὶ περιεζωσμένος· εἶχεν δὲ ποικίλα ὑποδήματα καὶ λέγει μοι· Σὲ περιμένω, ἐλθέ. καὶ ἐκράτησεν τὰς χεῖράς μου, καὶ ἐπορεύθημεν διὰ τραχέων καὶ 5 σκολιῶν τόπων· καὶ μόλις παρεγενόμεθα εἰς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον· καὶ εἰσῆγαγέν με εἰς τὸ μέσον καὶ λέγει μοι· Μὴ φοβήθῃς· ἐνθάδε εἰμὶ μετὰ σοῦ, συγκάμνων σοι· καὶ ἀπῆλθεν. καὶ ἰδὼν βλέπω πλείστον ὄχλον ἀποβλέποντα τῇ θεωρίᾳ σφόδρα· καὶ γὰρ ἦτις εἶδον πρὸς θηρία με καταδικασθεῖσαν ἐθαύμαζον ὅτι οὐκ 10 ἔβαλλόν μοι αὐτά. καὶ ἦλθεν πρὸς με Αἰγύπτιος τις ἄμορφος τῷ σχήματι μετὰ τῶν ὑπουργούντων αὐτῷ μαχησόμενός μοι. καὶ ἔρχεται πρὸς με νεανίας τις εὐμορφώτατος τῷ κάλλει ἑξαστράπτων, καὶ ἕτεροι μετ' αὐτοῦ νεανίαὶ ὠραῖοι, ὑπηρέται τε σπουδασταὶ ἐμοί. καὶ ἐξεδύθην καὶ ἐγενήθην ἄρρην· καὶ ἤρξαντο οἱ 15 ἀντιλήμπτορές μου ἐλαίῳ με ἀλείφειν, ὥς ἔθος ἐστὶν ἐν ἀγῶνι· καὶ ἀντικρυς βλέπω τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ἐκεῖνον ἐν τῷ κοινορτῷ κυλιόμενον. ἐξῆλθεν δὲ τις ἀνὴρ θαυμαστοῦ μεγέθους, ὑπερέχων τοῦ ἄκρου τοῦ ἀμφιθεάτρου, διεζωσμένος ἐσθῆτα ἣτις εἶχεν οὐ μόνον ἐκ τῶν δύο ὥμων τὴν πορφύραν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον ἐπὶ 20 τοῦ στήθους· εἶχεν δὲ καὶ ὑποδήματα ποικίλα ἐκ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργυρίου· ἐβάσταζεν δὲ καὶ ῥάβδον ὡς βραβευτῆς ἢ προστάτης μονομάχων· ἔφερεν δὲ καὶ κλάδους χλωροὺς ἔχοντας μῆλα χρυσᾶ· καὶ αἰτήσας σιγὴν γενέσθαι, ἔφη· Οὗτος ὁ Αἰγύπιος ἐὰν ταύτην νικήσῃ ἀνελεῖ αὐτὴν μαχαίρα· αὕτη δὲ ἐὰν νικήσῃ 25 αὐτὸν λήψεται τὸν κλάδον τούτον· καὶ ἀπέστη. προσήλθομεν

9 πιστὸν
19 διεξοσμένους

9, 10 ἀγὼ ἦτις εἶδον] καὶ εἴ τις ἔδεν
22 προστάτων

17, 18 κοιλιόμενον
26 λείπεται

8 adtonitum] Cf. Tert. *de Spectac.* 25 pudicitiam ediscet attonitus in mimos? *de Fug.* 1 ecclesia in attonito est: *de Idol.* 24 tuta si cauta, secura si attonita. The sense is 'keenly attentive.'

13 defrigere] I have kept the reading of A, as it may well represent a doublet of 'defricare': cf. 'defricatus.'

14 afa] This is doubtless the same word as 'haphe': cf. Martial *Epigr.* vii. 67 Harpasto quoque subligata ludit, Et flauescit haphe (ἀφή): Senec. *Ep.* 57 a

ceromate nos haphe excepit (an athletic metaphor for a journey first through mud and then through dust—et luto et puluere laborauimus): Arrian *Epictet.* iii. 15. 4 πολλὴν ἀφὴν καταπιεῖν (see Schweighäuser's note). It has been suggested that here 'afa' is for ρᾶν; and indeed Hilgenfeld supposes a Punic original for the writings of Perpetua and Saturus: but no satisfactory evidence has been adduced for this view.

21 istum] 'istud' A. For the con-

mus ad inuicem, et coepimus mittere pugnos. ille mihi pedes
adprehendere uolebat: ego autem illi calcibus faciem caedebam.
et sublata sum in aere, et coepi eum sic caedere quasi terram
non calcans. at ubi uidi moram fieri, iunxi manus, ut digitos in
5 digitos mitterem. et adprehendi illi caput, et cecidit in faciem;
et calcaui illi caput. et coepit populus clamare, et fautores mei
psallere. et accessi ad lanistam, et accepi ramum. et osculatus
est me, et dixit mihi: Filia, pax tecum. et coepi ire cum gloria
ad portam Sanauiuariam. et experrecta sum: et intellexi me
10 non ad bestias, sed contra diabolum esse pugnaturam: sed scie-
bam mihi esse uictoriam. hoc usque in pridie muneris egi:
ipsius autem muneris actum, si quis uoluerit, scribat.

XI. Sed et Saturus benedictus hanc uisionem suam edidit,
quam ipse conscripsit. Passi, inquit, eramus, et exiuimus de
15 carne, et coepimus ferri a quattuor angelis in orientem, quorum
manus nos non tangebant. ibamus autem non supini sursum
uersi, sed quasi mollem cliuum ascendentes. et liberato primo
mundo uidimus lucem immensam: et dixi Perpetuae: erat
enim haec in latere meo: Hoc est quod nobis Dominus pro-
20 mittebat: percepimus promissionem. et dum gestamur ab ipsis
quattuor angelis, factum est nobis spatium grande, quod tale fuit
quasi uiridarium, arbores habens rosae et omne genus flores.
altitudo arborum erat in modum cypressi, quarum folia canebant

2 uolebat; ego autem]	querebat et ego B	3 aere] re B	3, 4 quasi
terram non calcans]	BC; terram concalcans A	4 iunxi A*B; uinxi C	
manus]+ita BC	4, 5 in digito B	5, 6 om. et cecidit—caput B	
6 fauiores A	7 om. et (tert.) B	8 cepit B	9 sanauiuaria A;
saneuiuariam BC	10 a bestiis A; a bestia B	om. esse B	11 esse
uictoria A; uictoriam imminere BC	hoc] hos A	om. muneris B	
12 om. ipsius—scribat B	scribat]+ visio SATVRI A	14 quam]+et B	
15 carne] carcere BC	cepimus fieri B	16 tangebant B	17 uersus
BC molle A	glebam B	17, 18 liberato primo mundo] A; liberati	
primum iam mundo B; liberati primam iam C (Ruin.)		18 diŕ perpetua B	
18, 19 quoniam a latere nostro erat B; quoniam erat a latere nostro C		19 haec]	
hoc A dominus nobis B	21 grande] magnum B	22 arboris habens	
rosa B; rosam C (Ruin.)	flores] A*; floris A²B	23 altitudo]+autem B	
in] ad B	canebant] conieci; cadebant AB; ardebant C		

fusion of the terminations see Rönsch
I. u. V. p. 276 ('istum' for 'istud,' and
'ipsud' for 'ipsum').

4 non calcans] 'concalcans' A: but

Perpetua elsewhere only uses the simple
verb. The text moreover is confirmed
by *Acta Iacobi &c.* (Ruin. p. 226) cuius
pedes terram non calcabant. It is, how-

δὲ ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἡρξάμεθα παγκρατιάζειν· ἐκείνος ἐμοῦ τοὺς πόδας κρατεῖν ἡβούλετο· ἐγὼ δὲ λακτίσμασιν τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ ἔτυπτον· καὶ ἰδοὺ * ἐπῆρα ἀπὸ ἀέρος * καὶ ἡρξάμην αὐτὸν οὕτως τύπτειν ὡς μὴ πατοῦσα τὴν γῆν. ἰδοῦσα δὲ ὡς οὐδέπω ἤκιστον αὐτὸν ζεύξασα τὰς χεῖράς μου καὶ δακτύλους δακτύλοις ἐμβα- 5 λούσα τῆς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ ἐπελαβόμην· καὶ ἔρριψα αὐτὸν ἐπ' ὄψει καὶ ἐπάτησα τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ. καὶ ἡρξατο πᾶς ὁ ὄχλος βοᾶν· καὶ οἱ σπουδασταὶ μου ἐγαυρίων. καὶ προσῆλθον τῷ βραβευτῇ καὶ ἔλαβον τὸν κλάδον· καὶ ἡσπάσατό με καὶ εἶπεν· Εἰρήνῃ μετὰ σοῦ, θύγατερ· καὶ ἡρξάμην εὐθὺς πορεύεσθαι μετὰ 10 δόξης πρὸς πύλην τὴν λεγομένην ζωτικὴν. καὶ ἐξυπνίσθην· καὶ ἐνόησα ὅτι οὐ πρὸς θηρία μοι ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν διάβολόν ἐστιν ἡ ἐσομένη μάχη· καὶ συνῆκα ὅτι νικήσω αὐτόν. ταῦτα ἕως πρὸ μιᾶς τῶν φιλοτιμιῶν ἔγραψα· τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀμφιθεάτρῳ γενησόμενα ὁ θέλων συγγραψάτω.

15

XI. Ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ μακάριος Σάτυρος τὴν ἰδίαν ὀπτασίαν αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ συγγράψας ἐφάνέρωσεν τοιαῦτα εἰρηκώς. "Ἦδη, φησὶν, ἤμεν ὡς πεπονηθότες καὶ ἐκ τῆς σαρκὸς ἐξεληλύθειμεν, καὶ ἡρξάμεθα βαστάζεσθαι ὑπὸ τεσσάρων ἀγγέλων πρὸς ἀνατολάς, καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν οὐχ ἤπτοντο· ἐπορευόμεθα δὲ εἰς τὰ ἀνώτερα, 20 καὶ οὐχ ὑπτιοὶ ἀλλ' οἷον ὡς δι' ὁμαλῆς ἀναβάσεως ἐφερόμεθα. καὶ δι' ἐξεληθόντες τὸν πρῶτον κόσμον φῶς λαμπρότατον εἶδομεν· καὶ εἶπον πρὸς τὴν Περπετούαν (πλησίον γάρ μου ἦν)· Τοῦτό ἐστιν ὅπερ ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν ἐπηγγείλατο· μετειλήφαμεν τῆς ἐπαγγελίας. αἰωρουμένων δὲ ἡμῶν διὰ τῶν τεσσάρων ἀγγέλων ἐγένετο 25 στάδιον μέγα, ὅπερ ὡσεὶ κῆπος ἦν ἔχων ῥόδου δένδρα καὶ πᾶν γένος τῶν ἀνθέων· τὸ δὲ ὕψος τῶν δένδρων ἦν ὡσεὶ κυπαρίσσου

5 δακτύλους] δακτύλοις

10 ἡρξωμεν

25 ἐωρουμένων

ever, doubtful whether we should retain 'quasi.'

9 ad portam Sanauuariam] Cf. infra, p. 90, l. 21. This stands in contrast to the 'porta Libitinensis' through which the dead bodies of gladiators were carried on the 'libitina': cf. Lamprid. *Commod.* 16 galea eius bis per portam Libitinensem elata est.

16 tangebatur] The plural (BC) is an unnecessary correction: cf. p. 88, l. 8 animam nostram, and p. 92, l. 20 in

eorum corpore.

17 liberato] For 'liberare' in the sense of 'to pass' cf. Petron. *Sat.* 136 nequum liberaueram cellulae limen, cum animaduerto &c. Other examples are given in Faccioliati.

22 omne genus flores] The adjectival use of 'omne genus' is frequently found in Lucretius and Varro: so too 'id genus' and 'quod genus.'

23 caneabant] See above, p. 38.

sine cessatione. ibi autem in uiridario alii quattuor angeli fuerunt clariores ceteris: qui ubi uiderunt nos honorem nobis dederunt, et dixerunt ceteris angelis: Ecce sunt, ecce sunt: cum admiratione. et expauescentes quattuor illi angeli, qui gestabant nos, deposuerunt nos: et pedibus nostris transiuimus stadium uiolatum: ubi inuenimus Iocundum et Saturninum et Artaxium, qui eadem persecutione uiui arserunt; et Quintum, qui et ipse martyr in carcere exierat; et quaerebamus de illis ubi essent. ceteri angeli dixerunt nobis: Venite prius, introite, et salutate Dominum.

XII. Et uenimus prope locum, cuius loci parietes tales erant, quasi de luce aedificati; et ante ostium loci illius angeli quattuor stabant, qui introeuntes uestierunt stolas candidas. et introiuimus, et audiuius uocem unitam dicentem: Agios, agios, agios: sine cessatione. et uidimus in eodem loco sedentem quasi hominem canum, niueos habentem capillos, et uultu iuuenili; cuius pedes non uidimus. et in dextra et in sinistra seniores quattuor; et post illos ceteri seniores complures stabant. et introeuntes cum admiratione stetimus ante thronum: et quattuor angeli subleuauerunt nos: et osculati sumus illum, et de manu sua traiecit nobis in faciem. et ceteri seniores dixerunt nobis: Stemus. et stetimus, et pacem fecimus. et dixerunt nobis seniores: Ite et ludite. et dixi Perpetuae: Habes quod uis. et dixit mihi: Deo gratias, ut quomodo in carne hilaris fui, hilarior sum et hic modo.

XIII. Et exiuimus, et uidimus ante fores Optatum episcopum

1, 2 fuerunt quattuor angeli alii B	2 ubi] ibi C (Ruin.)	nos] + et
BC (Ruin.)	3 dederunt] + nos A*	om. ecce sunt (sec.) BC (Ruin.)
4 cum admiratione. et expauescentes]	expauescentes cum admiratione BC (Ruin.)	4
4, 5 gestabant nos] stabant BC (Ruin.)	5 pedimus A	6 uiolatum]
conieci; uiolata A; uia lata B	ubi] ibi B	iucundum, satyrum, artaxium B
7 eadem persecutione]	eandem persecutionem passi B	8 de] ab B
9 ubi essent ceteri. dixerunt autem nobis angeli B	prius introite]	primum intro B
12, 13 erant angeli quatuor (om. stabant) B	13 qui introeuntes uestierunt	
stolas candidas. et] introeuntes et nos uestiti stolas candidas B	14 introiuimus] + et uidimus lucem immensam B	unitam] mutatam B
14, 15 agius, agius, agius B	15 eodem loco]	medio loci illius BC
+ eius B	18 quattuor]	uiginti quattuor BC
om. seniores B	18, 19 et introeuntes]	introiuimus B
19 cum]	+ magna B	admiratione]
+ et B	20 om. nos B	21 om. nobis (sec.) B
22 stetimus]	stemus B	23 dixi Perpetuae]
dixit perpetua B	24 dixit mihi]	dixi B
24, 25 hilariorum et hic (om. modo) B	26 obtatum A	

μήκος, ἀκαταπαύστως δὲ κατεφέρετο τὰ δένδρα τὰ φύλλα αὐτῶν. ἦσαν δὲ μεθ' ἡμῶν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ κήπῳ οἱ τέσσαρες ἄγγελοι, ἀλλήλων ἐνδοξότεροι, ὑφ' ὧν ἐφερόμεθα· πτοουμένους δὲ ἡμᾶς καὶ θαυμάζοντας * καὶ ἀπέθηκαν, καὶ ἀνέλαβον· καὶ ὁδὸν * λαβόντες διήλθομεν τὸ στάδιον τοῖς ἡμετέροις ποσίν. ἐκεῖ εὔρομεν Ἰου-⁵ κούνδον καὶ Σάτυρον καὶ Ἀρτάξιον, τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ διωγμῷ ζῶντας κρεμασθέντας· εἶδομεν δὲ Κοῦντον τὸν μάρτυρα τὸν ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ἀποθανόντα· ἐζητοῦμεν δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν λοιπῶν τοῦ ἄρα εἰσίν· καὶ εἶπον οἱ ἄγγελοι πρὸς ἡμᾶς· Δεῦτε πρῶτον ἔσω ἵνα ἀσπάσσησθε τὸν κύριον.

10

XII. Καὶ ἦλθομεν πλησίον τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου τοῦ ἔχοντος τοίχους ὥσανεὶ ἐκ φωτὸς ὠκοδομημένους, καὶ πρὸ τῆς θύρας τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου εἰσελθόντες οἱ τέσσαρες ἄγγελοι ἐνέδυσαν ἡμᾶς λευκὰς στολὰς· καὶ εἰσῆλθομεν καὶ ἠκούσαμεν φωνὴν ἡνωμένην λεγόντων· Ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἅγιος, ἀκαταπαύστως. καὶ εἶδομεν¹⁵ ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου καθεζόμενον ὡς ἄνθρωπον πολιόν· οὐ αἱ τρίχες ὅμοιαι χιόνος καὶ νεαρὸν τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ· πόδας δὲ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἔθεασάμεθα. πρεσβύτεροι δὲ τέσσαρες ἐκ δεξιῶν καὶ τέσσαρες ἐξ εὐωνύμων ἦσαν αὐτοῦ· ὀπίσω δὲ τῶν τεσσάρων πολλοὶ πρεσβύτεροι. ὡς δὲ θαυμάζοντες εἰσεληλύθα-²⁰ μεν καὶ ἔστημεν ἐνώπιον τοῦ θρόνου, οἱ τέσσαρες ἄγγελοι ἐπῆραν ἡμᾶς, καὶ ἐφιλήσαμεν αὐτόν, καὶ τῇ χειρὶ περιέλαβεν τὰς ὀψεις ἡμῶν· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ πρεσβύτεροὶ εἶπον πρὸς ἡμᾶς· Σταθώμεν καὶ προσευξώμεθα. καὶ εἰρηνοποιήσαντες ἀπεστάλημεν ὑπὸ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, λεγόντων· Πορεύεσθε καὶ χαίρεσθε. καὶ²⁵ εἶπον· Περπετούα, ἔχεις ὃ ἐβούλον. καὶ εἶπεν· Τῷ θεῷ χάρις, ἵνα, ὡς ἐν σαρκὶ μετὰ χαρᾶς ἐγενόμην, πλείονα χαρῶ νῦν.

XIII. Ἐξήλθομεν δὲ καὶ εἶδομεν πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν Ὀπτάτον

6 uiolatum] See above, pp. 39 f.; and compare the rare word 'uiolatio' for the scattering of violets on graves: DIE PARENTALI MEO, ITEM XI. KAL. APR. DIE VIOLATIONIS, ITEM XII. KAL. IVNIAS DIE ROSATIONIS, Inscr. ap. Bibl. Vallicell. 26, p. 261 (quoted by White and Riddell).

9 ceteri angeli] Cf. 'ceteris angelis,' l. 3. The reading of BC gives no clue to the meaning of 'ceteri.'

14 Agios] For the survival of the Greek form of the *Ter Sanctus*, cf. S. Germain

(† 576), quoted by Duchesne *Culte Chrét.* p. 182: incipiente praesule ecclesia Aius psallit, dicens latinum cum graeco. We find both forms also in the Mozarabic Liturgy.

15 sine cessatione] Cf. l. 1. This phrase occurs several times in the Proper Prefaces of the Gothic Missal (Migne *P. L.* 72 pp. 231, 233, 277, 317).

21 traiecit nobis in faciem] For a possible interpretation of this difficult phrase see above, p. 27.

ad dexteram, et Aspasiū presbyterum doctorem ad sinistram, separatos et tristes. et miserunt se ad pedes nobis, et dixerunt: Componite inter nos, quia existis, et sic nos reliquistis. et diximus illis: Non tu es papa noster, et tu presbyter? ut 5 uos ad pedes nobis mittatis? et moti sumus et complexi illos sumus. et coepit Perpetua graece cum illis loqui: et segregauimus eos in uiridarium sub arbore rosae. et dum loquimur cum eis, dixerunt illis angeli: Sinite illos refrigerent; et si quas habetis inter uos dissensiones, dimittite uobis inuicem. et con- 10 turbauerunt eos. et dixerunt Optato: Corrige plebem tuam; quia sic ad te conueniunt quasi de circo redeuntes, et de factionibus certantes. et sic nobis uisum est quasi uellent claudere portas. et coepimus illic multos fratres cognoscere, sed et martyras. uniuersi odore inenarrabili alebamus, qui nos satiabat. 15 tunc gaudens exspectatus sum.

XIV. Hae uisiones insigniores ipsorum martyrum beatissimorum Saturi et Perpetuae, quas ipsi conscripserunt. Secundulum uero Deus maturiore exitu de saeculo adhuc in carcere euocauit, non sine gratia, ut bestias lucraretur. gladium tamen 20 etsi non anima certe caro eius agnouit.

XV. Circa Felicitatem uero, et illi gratia Domini eius-

2 nobis et] nostros B	2, 3 dixerunt]+ nobis B	4 illis]+ optati B; + optate C	non] nonne C	es papa noster] papa noster es B; pater noster es C	ut] quid C	5 nobis] nostros BC	moti sumus] misimus nos B	5, 6 compleximur illos (om. sumus) B	6 om. graece A	7 uiridario B	8 sinite illos refrigerent] quiescite et refrigerate BC (Ruin.)	om. si B	10 obtato A; obtate B	11, 12 factionibus] BC; fatigationibus A	13 om. sed et B
13, 14 martiras A; martyres B	14 uniuersi] ubi B	saciabat A; sanabit B	15 gaudens]+ et B	experrecta A	16 hae] Holst.; et AB	insigniores] sunt in signo B	19 reuocauit B	gladium] gaudium B	20 etsi] et B	21 uero]+ nam B					

1 presbyterum doctorem] The use of substantives in apposition instead of attributes is regarded by Sittl as specially African. See the examples which he gives (*Lok. Versch.* p. 110), e.g. 'exhibitor magistratus' in Arnobius. So we have above, p. 74, l. 13 'miles optio praepositus carceris,' and below, p. 84, l. 6 'sociam quasi comitem.'

19 ut bestias lucraretur] By his death in prison Saturus 'saved himself the beasts.' Cf. Cic. *Verr.* II. 1. 12 lucratur indicia ueteris infamiae (i.e. 'I shall say nothing about them,' 'I shall make him a present of them'). A closer parallel is Ammian. Marcell. XIX. 4. 3 (speaking of the Trojan war): hinc cum decennali bello Graecia desudaret, ne peregrinus

τὸν ἐπίσκοπον καὶ Ἀσπάσιον τὸν πρεσβύτερον πρὸς τὰ ἀρι-
στερὰ μέρη διακεχωρισμένους καὶ περιλύπους. καὶ πεσόντες
πρὸς τοὺς πόδας ἡμῶν ἔφασαν ἡμῖν· Διαλλάξατε ἡμᾶς πρὸς
ἀλλήλους ὅτι ἐξεληλύθατε καὶ οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἀφήκατε. καὶ εἶπα-
μεν πρὸς αὐτοὺς· Οὐχὶ σὺ πάπας ἡμέτερος εἶ, καὶ σὺ πρε- 5
σβύτερος; ἵνα τί οὕτως προσεπέσατε τοῖς ἡμετέροις ποσίν;
καὶ σπλαγχνισθέντες περιελάβομεν αὐτοὺς καὶ ἥρξατο ἡ
Περπετούα Ἑλληνιστὶ μετ' αὐτῶν ὁμιλεῖν, καὶ ἀνεχωρήσαμεν
σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν κήπον ὑπὸ τὸ δένδρον τοῦ ῥόδου. καὶ
λαλούντων αὐτῶν μεθ' ἡμῶν ἀπεκριθήσαν οἱ ἄγγελοι πρὸς 10
αὐτοὺς· Ἐάσατε αὐτοὺς ἀναψύξαι, καὶ εἴ τινας διχοστασίας
ἔχετε μεθ' ἑαυτῶν, ἀφετε ὑμεῖς ἀλλήλοις. καὶ ἐπέπληξαν αὐτοὺς
καὶ εἶπαν Ὁπτάτω· Ἐπανόρθωσαι τὸ πλῆθός σου· οὕτω γὰρ
συνέρχονται πρὸς σε, ὥσει ἀπὸ ἵπποδρομιῶν ἐπανερχόμενοι καὶ
περὶ αὐτῶν φιλονεικοῦντες. ἐνομίζομεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ὥς θέλει 15
ἀποκλεῖσαι τὰς πύλας. καὶ ἡρξάμεθα ἐκεῖ πολλοὺς τῶν ἀδελ-
φῶν ἐπιγινώσκειν, ἀλλάγε καὶ τοὺς μάρτυρας· ἔτρεφόμεθα δὲ
πάντες ὁσμῇ ἀνεκδιηγῆται ἥτις οὐκ ἐχόρταζεν ἡμᾶς· καὶ εὐθέως
χαίρων ἐξυπνίσθην.

XIV. Αὗται αἱ ὁράσεις ἐμφανέσονται τῶν μαρτύρων Σατύρου 20
καὶ Περπετούας ἃς αὐτοὶ συνεγράψαντο· τὸν γὰρ Σεκοῦνδον
τάχειον ἐκ τοῦ κόσμου μετεπέμψατο [ὁ θεός]· ἐν γὰρ τῇ φυλακῇ
τῆς κλήσεως ἡξιώθη σὺν τῇ χάριτι πάντως κερδάνας τὸ μὴ
θηριομαχεῖν· πλὴν εἰ καὶ μὴ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀλλοῦνγε τὴν σάρκα
αὐτοῦ διεξῆλθεν τὸ ξίφος. 25

XV. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ Φηλικητάτῃ ἡ χάρις τοῦ θεοῦ τοιαύτη

7 σπλαγχνησθέντες
satiabat

22 om. ὁ θεός

18 ὁσμῇ] ὥς μὴ

οὐκ ἐχόρταζεν] forte legebat non

poenas dissociati regalis matrimonii
lucraretur, i.e. 'should escape the penalty
of his outrage.' Cf. Acts xxvii. 21 κερ-
δησαί τε τὴν ὕβριν ταύτην καὶ τὴν ζημίαν,
lucrique facere iniuriam hanc et iacturam
(Vulg.). The parallel therefore with
Ignat. Rom. 3 ὀναίμην τῶν θηρίων falls to
the ground.

20 etsi non anima certe caro] I have
been unwilling to transpose 'anima' and
'caro' against all the MSS. The re-

ference to Lc. ii. 5, supposed by the
Greek translator who introduces διεξ-
ῆλθεν for 'agnovit,' is not certain.
The meaning seems to be 'he escaped
the beasts, but not the sword: his body,
though not his soul, knew the sword';
and we may perhaps compare Matt. x.
28. He may have been beheaded in the
prison; or 'the sword' may be a figure
of speech for the sufferings which caused
his death.

modi contigit. cum octo iam mensium uentrem haberet, (nam praegnans fuerat adprehensa) instante spectacula die, in magno erat luctu, ne propter uentrem differretur; quia non licet praegnantibus poenae repraesentari: et ne inter alios postea sceleratos
 5 sanctum et innocentem sanguinem funderet. sed et commartyres grauiter contristabantur, ne tam bonam sociam quasi comitem solam in uia eiusdem spei relinquerent. coniuncto itaque unito gemitu ad Dominum orationem fuderunt ante tertium diem muneris. statim post orationem dolores inuaserunt.
 10 et cum pro naturali difficultate octauis mensis in partu laborans doleret, ait illi quidam ex ministris cataractariorum: Quae sic modo doles, quid facies obiecta bestiis, quas contempsisti cum sacrificare noluisti? et illa respondit: Modo ego patior quod patior; illic autem alius erit in me qui patietur
 15 pro me, quia et ego pro illo passura sum. ita enixa est puellam, quam sibi quaedam soror in filiam educauit.

XVI. Quoniam ergo permisit et permittendo uoluit Spiritus Sanctus ordinem ipsius muneris conscribi, etsi indigne ad supplementum tantae gloriae describendae, tamen quasi mandatum
 20 sanctissimae Perpetuae, immo fideicommissum eius exequimur, unum adicientes documentum de ipsius constantia et animi sublimitate. cum a tribuno castigatus eo tractantur, quia ex admonitionibus hominum uanissimorum uerebatur, ne subtraherentur de carcere incantationibus aliquibus magicis; in faciem

1 mensium] mensuum A; meti suum B	1, 2 nam praegnans fuerat]
non pregnatus erat B	2 instante spectacula die in magno] expectans expectaculum diem. Imago B
3 luctae C (Ruin.)	uentre A differeretur A;
possit deferri B	3, 4 praegnantibus penas presentari B alios] aliquos B
5, 6 commartyres] + eius B	7 comitantem B om. in B derelinquerent B
8 itaque] + et B	gemitu ad deum B fecerunt B 9 et statim B
dolores] + eam B	10 naturali] natura B 11 cataractariorum A; cataractareorum B
12, 13 om. sic A	facies cum abiecta fueris B quia contempsisti et B
13 noluisti? et] uoluisti B	14 dicens ego modo B
illic] ille B	pro me patietur B 15 puella A 16 om. quaedam B
filia A	edocauit AB 17 promisit B 18 etsi] ut si A indigne] B;
indigna A	19 describendae] describenti A; illorum describende B 20
exequamur B	21 continentiae et de anima B 22 tractanti A 22, 23
cum—quia] quia tribuno castiganti [-e C (Ruin.)]	eos et male tractante, quoniam BC
ammonitionibus A	23 uerberatur B

ἐδόθη. ἐκείνη γὰρ συλληφθεῖσα ὁκτῶ μηνῶν ἔχουσα γαστέρα, πᾶν ὠδύρετο, διότι οὐκ ἔξεστιν ἐγκύμονα θηριομαχεῖν ἢ τιμωρεῖσθαι, μήπως ὕστερον μετὰ ἄλλων ἀνοσίων ἐκχυθῇ τὸ αἷμα αὐτῆς τὸ ἀθῶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ συμμάρτυρες αὐτῆς περίλυποι ἦσαν σφόδρα οὕτω καλὴν συνεργὸν καὶ ὥσει συνοδοιπόρον ἐν ὁδῷ 5 τῆς αὐτῆς ἐλπίδος μὴ θέλοντες καταλείπειν. πρὸ τρίτης οὖν ἡμέρας τοῦ πάθους αὐτῶν κοινῶ στεναγμῷ ἐνωθέντες προσευχὴν πρὸς τὸν κύριον ἐποιήσαντο· καὶ εὐθὺς μετὰ τὴν προσευχὴν ὠδίνες αὐτὴν συνέσχον, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὀγδούου μηνὸς φύσιν χαλεπαί. καὶ μετὰ τὸν τοκετὸν καμοῦσα ἤλγει. ἔφη δέ τις αὐτῇ 10 τῶν παρατηρούντων ὑπηρετῶν· Εἰ νῦν οὕτως ἀλγείς, τί ἔχεις ποιῆσαι βληθεῖσα πρὸς θηρία, ὧν κατεφρόνησας ὅτε ἐπιθύειν κατεφρόνησας καὶ οὐκ ἠθέλησας θῦσαι; ἀκείνη ἀπεκρίθη· Νῦν ἐγὼ πάσχω ὃ πάσχω· ἐκεῖ δὲ ἄλλος ἐστὶν ὃ πάσχων ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ· ἔσται ἐν ἐμοὶ ἵνα πάθῃ, διότι ἐγὼ πάσχω ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ. 15 ἔτεκεν δὲ κοράσιον, ὃ μίᾳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν συλλαβοῦσα εἰς θυγατέρα ἀνέθρεψεν αὐτῇ.

XVI. Ἡμῖν δὲ ἀναξίοις οὖσιν ἐπέτρεψεν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἀναγράψαι τὴν τάξιν τὴν ἐπὶ ταῖς φιλοτιμίαις παρακολουθήσασαν· πλὴν ὡς ἐντάλματι τῆς μακαρίας Περπετούας μᾶλλον 20 δὲ ὡς κελεύσματι ὑπηρετοῦντες ἀναπληροῦμεν τὸ προσταχθὲν ἡμῖν. ὡς δὲ πλείους ἡμέραι διεγίνοντο ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ ὄντων αὐτῶν, ἡ μεγαλόφρων καὶ ἀνδρεία ὡς ἀληθῶς Περπετούα, τοῦ χιλιάρχου ἀπηνέστερον αὐτοῖς προσφερομένου, τινῶν πρὸς αὐτὸν ματαιῶς διαβεβαιωσαμένων τὸ δεῖν φοβεῖσθαι μήπως ἐπ' ὠδαῖς 25 μαγικαῖς τῆς φυλακῆς ὑπεξέλθωσιν, ἐνώπιον ἀπεκρίθη λέγουσα·

9 φύσι

11 cataractariorum] 'Cataracta' seems to be a portecullis in Liv. xxvii. 28. In Jerem. xx. 2, 3 it is the Lxx. word for 'the stocks.' This suggests a possible meaning for 'cataractarius' here: no doubt it is a technical name for a prison official. The phrase 'cataractariorum ministris' is borrowed in *Acta Montani* &c. c. 17 (Ruin. p. 236).

12 Quae sic modo] 'sic' is supported by the abbreviated lection in the Breviary of Quimper (see above, p. 21), which

otherwise agrees with A in this passage: Quae sic modo doles, quid facies obiecta bestiis?

18 ordinem ipsius muneris] Cf. supra, p. 78, l. 12 ipsius muneris actum &c. For a discussion of the reading of the following sentences see the separate note on p. 100.

19 mandatum] This is used of a last injunction which can be legally enforced: cf. Cic. *pro Rosc. Amer.* c. 38 itaque mandati constitutum est iudicium non

ei respondit: Quid utique non permittis nobis refrigerare noxiis nobilissimis, Caesaris scilicet, et natali eiusdem pugnaturis? aut non tua gloria est, si pinguiore illo producamur? horruit et erubuit tribunus; et ita iussit illos humanius haberi, ut fratribus eius et ceteris facultas fieret introeundi, et refrigerandi cum eis; iam et ipso optione carceris credente.

XVII. Pridie quoque cum illam cenam ultimam, quam liberam uocant, quantum in ipsis erat non cenam liberam sed agapen cenarent, eadem constantia ad populum uerba ista iactabant, comminantes iudicium Dei, contestantes passionis suae felicitatem, inidentes concurrentium curiositatem; dicente Saturo: Crastinus satis uobis non est, quod libenter uidetis quod odistis? hodie amici, cras inimici. notate tamen nobis facies nostras diligenter, ut recognoscatis nos in die illo. ita omnes inde adtoniti discedebant: ex quibus multi crediderunt.

XVIII. Inluxit dies uictoriae illorum, et processerunt de carcere in amphitheatrum, quasi in caelum, hilares uultu decori; si forte gaudio pauentes non timore. sequebatur Perpetua lucido incessu, ut matrona Christi, ut Dei delicata: uigore ocu-

1 ei] et B respondit] + perpetua et dixit B permittis nobis] dimisisti
 nos B 2 nobilissimi BC si licet et natalis A; scis qua natale B 2, 3
 eius sumus pugnaturi (*om.* aut) B 3 pinguior est illuc B 4 *om.* ita B
 humanius habere BC; manibus hiberi A 6 iam et] tamen A 7 illa cena
 ultima A 9 agapen] adipem B *om.* ista B 10 domini A con-
 stantes B passioni A suae] sue et B 11 inirritantes A; inredeantes B;
 iridentes C 12 crastinus] + dies B uobis satis B quod] quid C;
 qui B 13 uidistis B nobis] uobis BC (*Ruin.*) 14 illo] + iuditii B;
 + iudicii C omnes] multi BC (*Ruin.*) 15 discesserunt B crediderunt]
 + PASSIO VT SUPRA A 17 in (*pr.*) ad B hilares] + et B 18 si forte] quasi BC
 timore] pauore B 19 lucido] placido uultu et pedum B *om.* ut (*sec.*) B
 delicata] dilecta BC uigorem oculorum suorum deitiens ab omnium con-
 spectu B

minus turpe quam furti. 'Fideicommissum' is rather an obligation of honour: see above, p. 52.

2 nobilissimis] The combined evidence of A and g shews that this is the true reading. 'Nobilissimus' is a constant epithet for a Caesar, and is applied to Geta in inscriptions. Here the epithet of the Caesar is transferred to the con-

demned persons (noxiis) who are to grace his festival by their death. Hence 'Caesaris scilicet'; where if 'nobilissimi' (BC) be read, the point is lost, and 'scilicet' is out of place.

11 inirritantes] Possibly 'inirritantes' (A) should be retained in the sense of 'setting at nought,' 'frustrating,' from 'inrīto': cf. Rönisch *I. u. V.* p. 165.

Διατί ἡμῖν ἀναλαμβάνειν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπεις ὀνομαστοῖς καταδίκους Καίσαρος γενεθλίοις ἀναλωθησομένοις; μὴ γὰρ οὐχὶ σὴ δόξα ἐστίν, ἐφ' ὅσον πόνους προσερχόμεθα; πρὸς ταῦτα ἔφριξεν καὶ ἐδυσωπῆθη ὁ χιλιάρχος, ἐκέλευσέν τε αὐτοὺς φιλανθρωπότερον διάγειν, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτῆς καὶ λοιποὺς τινὰς δεδυνῆσθαι 5 εἰσελθεῖν καὶ ἀναλαμβάνειν μετ' αὐτῶν. τότε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς φυλακῆς προεστὼς ἐπίστευσεν.

XVII. Ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸ μιᾶς ὅτε τὸ ἔσχατον ἐκείνο δεῖπνον, ὅπερ ἐλεύθερον ὀνομάζουσιν, ὅσον δὲ ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς οὐκ ἐλεύθερον δεῖπνον ἀλλ' ἀγάπην ἐπεκάλουν τῇ αὐτῶν παρρησίᾳ· πρὸς δὲ 10 τὸν ὄχλον τὸν ἐκείσε παρεστῶτα ῥήματα ἐξέπεμπον μετὰ πολλῆς παρρησίας αὐτοῖς ἀπειλοῦντες κρίσιν θεοῦ, ἀνθομολογούμενοι τὸν μακαρισμὸν τοῦ πάθους ἑαυτῶν, καταγελῶντες τὴν περιεργίαν τῶν συντρεχόντων, Σατύρου λέγοντος· Ἡ αὐριον ἡμέρα ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐπαρκεῖ; τί ἡδέως ὀρᾶτε οὐς μισεῖτε· σήμερον 15 φίλοι· αὐριον ἐχθροί; πλὴν ἐπισημειώσασθε τὰ πρόσωπα ἡμῶν ἐπιμελῶς ἵνα καὶ ἐπιγνώτε ἡμᾶς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. οὕτως ἅπαντες ἐκείθεν ἐκπληττόμενοι ἐχωρίζοντο· ἐξ ὧν πλείστοι ἐπίστευσαν.

XVIII. Ἐπέλαμψε δὲ ἡμέρα τῆς νίκης αὐτῶν· καὶ προῆλ- 20 θον ἐκ τῆς φυλακῆς εἰς τὸ ἀμφιθέατρον ὡς εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀπιόντες, ἱλαροὶ καὶ φαιδροὶ τῷ προσώπῳ, πτοούμενοι εἰ τύχοι χαρᾷ μᾶλλον ἢ φόβῳ. ἡκολούθει δὲ ἡ Περπετούα πρῶως βαδίζουσα, ὡς ματρῶνα Χριστοῦ, ἐγρηγόρῳ ὀφθαλμῷ, καὶ τῇ προσόψει κα-

3 πόνους] πλείονες
μασῆται

14 λέγοντος] λέωντος

15 ὑμῖν] ἡμῖν μισεῖτε]

19 ut matrona Christi] 'Matrona,' 'the true wife,' is frequently opposed to 'meretrix'; e.g. Hor. *Ep.* i. 18. 3 ut matrona meretrici dispar erit atque Discolor. This to some extent prepares the way for the startling use of 'delicata' which follows.

ut Dei delicata] A bold expression, altered in BC and omitted altogether in the Greek. 'Delicata' is applied to Perpetua below, p. 90, l. 12; but there its sense is obvious and quite different. Its meaning here, 'favorite' or 'darling,' may be illustrated from Inscriptions,

such as C. I. L. *Afr.* 2861

D. M. S.

IVLIAE DELICATAE

MERENTI

DIDIVS FRVCTVS Bf

LATIC

V. AN. XXXXIII

In another African Inscr. (*ib.* 10889) DELICATVS and SCHOLASTICVS are names of race-horses. With the restoration of the true text the supposed reference in 'Christi Dei' to Ignat. *Smyrn.* 10 Χριστοῦ Θεοῦ (cf. *Trall.* 7), always uncertain, disappears entirely.

lorum deiciens omnium conspectum. item Felicitas, saluam se peperisse gaudens ut ad bestias pugnaret, a sanguine ad sanguinem, ab obstetrice ad retiarium, lotura post partum baptismo secundo. et cum ducti essent in portam, et cogerentur habitum induere, uiri quidem sacerdotum Saturni, feminae uero sacratarum Cereri; generosa illa in finem usque constantia repugnauit. dicebat enim: Ideo ad hoc sponte peruenimus, ne libertas nostra obduceretur; ideo animam nostram addiximus, ne tale aliquid faceremus: hoc uobiscum pacti sumus. agnouit iniustitiam: concessit tribunus, quomodo erant, simpliciter inducerentur. Perpetua psallebat, caput iam Aegyptii calcans. Reuocatus et Saturninus et Satorus populo spectanti comminabantur de hoc. ut sub conspectu Hilariani peruenerint, gestu et nutu coeperunt Hilariano dicere: Tu nos, inquit, te autem Deus. ad hoc populus exasperatus, flagellis eos uexari pro ordine uenatorum postulauit. et utique gratulati sunt, quod aliquid et de dominicis passionibus essent consecuti.

XIX. Sed qui dixerat *Petite et accipietis* petentibus dederat eum exitum quem quisque desiderauerat. nam, si quando inter se de martyrii sui uoto sermocinabantur, Saturninus quidem omnibus bestiis uelle se obici profitebatur: ut scilicet gloriosiores gestaret coronam. itaque in commissione spectaculi reuocatus leopardo expertus etiam super pulpitum ab urso erat

2 perisse B ad (pr.)] a AB om. ad sanguinem ABC 4 et delati in
portam cum essent B habitu A 5—7 saturnini feminarum uero sacrorum
generosa in finem usque constantiam repugnabit B 6 cererum A 7 dice-
bant A enim] ergo B ne] de B 8 adduceretur B animas nostras BC
addiximus] C; adduximus AB 10 iustitiam] + et BC tribunus] + ut BC
11 om. Perpetua A 11, 12 reuocatus satyrus et saturninus populum expec-
tanti perminabantur. B 13 de hoc] Dehinc BC ut] iam B perue-
nerant B 14 inquit] iudicabit C; om. B 15 ad] non ad B flagellas
B 15, 16 per ordinem BC 16 et utique] utique illi B 17 et de] ex B
18 dix B dedit B 19 cum exitum que in quis desiderauerat acceperit B
20 uoto] uocis B sermocinabatur B 21 ut scilicet] scilicet ut felicem et B
22 coronam] curam B itaque] + cum B spectaculi] + ipse et BC 23 leo-
pardum experti BC

5 sacerdotum Saturni] For the worship of the African Saturn cf. Berger and Cagnat, *Un Sanctuaire de Saturne à Ain-Tounga*, Paris, 1889.

5, 6 sacratarum Cereri] See Mr

Harris's notes (p. 62 and Introd. p. 5). The omission of any reference to Perpetua's husband is strange; but his ingenious suggestion is not altogether convincing.

ταβάλλουσα τὰς πάντων ὁράσεις. ὁμοίως καὶ ἡ Φηλικητάτη χαίρουσα ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ τοκετοῦ ὑγείᾳ ἵνα θηριομαχήσῃ, ἀπὸ αἵματος εἰς αἷμα, ἀπὸ μαίας πρὸς μονομαχίαν, μέλλουσα λούσασθαι μετὰ τὸν τοκετόν, βαπτισμῷ δευτέρῳ, τουτέστι τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι. ὅτε δὲ ἡγγισαν πρὸ τοῦ ἀμφιθεάτρου, ἠναγκάζοντο ἐνδύσασθαι 5 σχήματα, οἱ μὲν ἄρρενες ἱερέων Κρόνου, αἱ δὲ θηλείαι τῆς Δημήτρας· ἀλλ' ἡ εὐγενεστάτη ἐκείνη Περπετοῦα παρρησίᾳ ἡγωνίσαστο ἕως τέλους· ἔλεγεν γάρ· Διὰ τοῦτο ἐκουσίως εἰς τοῦτο ἐληλύθαμεν, ἵνα ἡ ἐλευθερία ἡμῶν μὴ ἥττηθῇ· διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμῶν παρεδώκαμεν, ἵνα μηδὲν τῶν τοιούτων πράξωμεν· 10 τοῦτο συνεταξάμεθα μεθ' ὑμῶν. ἐπέγνω ἡ ἀδικία τὴν δικαιοσύνην· καὶ μετέπειτα ἐπέτρεψεν ὁ χιλιάρχος ἵνα οὕτως εἰσαχθῶσιν ὡς ἦσαν· καὶ ἡ Περπετοῦα ἔφαλλεν, τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου ἤδη πατοῦσα. 'Ρεουκάτος δὲ καὶ Σατουρνῖλος καὶ Σάτυρος τῷ θεωροῦντι ὄχλῳ προσωμίλουν· καὶ γενόμενοι ἔμπρο- 15 σθεν Ἰλαριάνου, κινήμασιν καὶ νεύμασιν ἔφασαν· Σὺ ἡμᾶς καὶ σὲ ὁ θεός. πρὸς ταῦτα ἀγριωθεὶς ὁ ὄχλος μαστιγωθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐβόησεν· ἀλλὰ οἱ ἄγιοι ἠγαλλιάσθησαν ὅτι ὑπέμεινάν τι καὶ τῶν κυριακῶν παθῶν.

XIX. 'Αλλ' ὁ εἰπὼν Αἰτεῖσθε καὶ λήψετε εἶδωκεν τοῖς αἰτή- 20 σασιν ταύτην τὴν δόξαν οἷαν ἕκαστος αὐτῶν ἐπεθύμησεν. εἵποτε γὰρ μεθ' ἑαυτῶν περὶ τῆς εὐχῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου συνελάλουν, Σατουρνῖλος μὲν πᾶσιν τοῖς θηρίοις βληθῆναι ἑαυτὸν θέλειν [ἔλεγεν] πάντως ἵνα ἐνδοξότερον στέφανον ἀπολάβῃ. ἐν ἀρχῇ γοῦν τῆς θεωρίας αὐτὸς μετὰ 'Ρεουκάτου πάρδαλιν ὑπέμεινεν· ἀλλὰ καὶ 25

4 δευτέρῳ] δὲ ὑστέρω 11 συνετάξωμεθα μεθασυνετάξεσθαι μεθ' ὑμῶν 15 προσωμίλουν] forte legebat concionabantur 23 om. ἔλεγεν

8 animam nostram addiximus] A bold metaphor derived from the oath of the 'uoluntarii,' who sold themselves to a 'lanista.' For another metaphorical application of this oath, cf. Petron. Sat. 117 itaque ut duraret inter omnes tutum mendacium, in uerba Eumolpi sacramentum iuravimus, uri, uinciri, uerberari, ferroque necari, et quidquid aliud Eumolpus iussisset, tamquam legitimi gladiatores domino corpora animasque addicimus.

10, 11 concessit...inducerentur] It

seems unnecessary to insert 'ut' with BC: though for its omission Catul. 114. 5 (concede sit diues) is the only passage that I can find quoted.

15, 16 pro ordine uenatorum] Cf. Tert. ad Mart. 5, ad Natt. i. 18.

18 Petite et accipietis] See above, p. 49.

22 in commissione] Cf. Cic. Ep. ad Att. xv. 26 iam ab ipsa commissione; Suet. Aug. 43 commissione ludorum quibus theatrum Marcellinum dedicabat.

22, 23 reuocatus] This has been taken as a proper name and so the whole

uexatus. Satorus autem nihil magis quam ursum abomina-
batur: sed uno morsu leopardi confici se iam praesumebat.
itaque cum apro subministraretur, uenator potius qui illum apro
subligauerat, subfossus ab eadem bestia, post dies muneris obiit.
5 Satorus solummodo tractus est. et cum ad ursum substrictus
esset in ponte, ursus de cauea prodire noluit. itaque secundo
Satorus inlaesus reuocatur.

XX. Puellis autem ferocissimam uaccam, ideoque praeter
consuetudinem comparatam, diabolus praeparauit: sexui earum
10 etiam de bestia aemulatus. itaque dispoliatæ et reticulis in-
dutaë producebantur. horruit populus, alteram respiciens puel-
lam delicatam, alteram a partu recentem stillantibus mammis.
ita reuocatae et discinctis indutaë. prior Perpetua iactata est, et
concidit in lumbos. et ubi sedit tunicam a latere discissam
15 ad uelamentum femoris reduxit, pudoris potius memor quam
doloris. dehinc requisita, et dispersos capillos infibulauit. non
enim decebat martyram sparsis capillis pati, ne in sua gloria
plangere uideretur. ita surrexit, et elisam Felicitatem cum
uidisset accessit, et manum ei tradidit et suscitauit illam. et
20 ambae pariter steterunt, et populi duritia deuicta reuocatae sunt
in portam Sanauuariam. illic Perpetua a quodam tunc cate-
chumino, Rustico nomine, qui ei adhaerebat, suscepta, et quasi a
somno expergita (adeo in Spiritu et in extasi fuerat) circumspi-
cere coepit, et instupentibus omnibus ait: Quando, inquit, pro-
25 ducimur ad uaccam illam, nescio. et cum audisset quod iam

1 uexati sunt BC 2 sed] et B leopardisse B conficisse AB con-
sumebat B 3 cum] + iam BC aper C 3, 4 aprum subministrauerat BC
4 suffossos B diem BC 5 substrictus] subreptus B; subrectus C 6 exire B
noluit] + Pudens miles (mils B) de industria efferatorum (effratorum B) adfirmasset
portas putris carnibus magis ne mitteretur (mittetur B) efficit (effigit B) BC (*Ruin.*)
itaque] ita BC 8 om. ideoque B 9 consuetudinenem paratam B
sexuigearum B 10, 11 spoliatae B om. et reticulis indutaë BC 11 pro-
mouebantur BC alteram respiciens] aspiciens B 12 dilectam B 13 et
discinctis indutaë] discinguntur. Inducitur B iactata est et] iacta B 14
incidit B lumbis B ubi sedit] ut conspexit BC tunicam A a lateribus
conscissam B 15 femorum adduxit B 16 requisita et] a quo recurrit B
17 ne in] non B 19 accessisset ei manum et tradidit et subleuauit B 21
porta B sane uiuariam A; om. B a] ad A 22 qui ei] quia tunc B sus-
cepta] suscepit B 22, 23 de somno expergefacta B fuerat] fuerit A; fuerat.
Nam B 24 stupentibus B 25 nescio] + quam BC (*Ruin.*) et] sed B

ὑστερον ἐπὶ τῆς γεφύρας ὑπὸ ἄρκου διεσπαράχθη. Σάτυρος δὲ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἄρκον ἀπεστρέφετο· καὶ ἐνὶ δῆγματι παρδάλεως τελειοῦσθαι αὐτὸν ἐπεπόθει· ὥστε καὶ τῷ συὶ διακονούμενος ἐσύρη μόνον, σχοινίῳ προσδεθείς· ὁ δὲ θηρατῆς ὁ τῷ συὶ αὐτὸν προσβαλὼν ὑπὸ τοῦ θηρὸς κατετρώθη οὕτως ὡς μεθ' ἡμέραν τῶν 5 φιλοτιμιῶν ἀποθανεῖν. ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄρκον διαδεθείς ὑγιῆς πάλιν διέμεινεν· ἐκ γὰρ τοῦ ζωγρίου αὐτῆς ἡ ἄρκος οὐκ ἐθέλησεν ἐξελεθῆναι.

XX. Ταῖς μακαρίαις δὲ νεάνισιν ἀγριωτάτην δάμαλιν ἡτοίμασεν ὁ διάβολος, τὸ θῆλυ αὐτῶν παραζηλῶν διὰ τοῦ θηρίου· 10 καὶ γυμνωθεῖσαι γοῦν προσήγοντο· ὅθεν ἀπεστράφη ὁ ὄχλος, μίαν μὲν τρυφερὰν κόρην βλέπων, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην μασθοῖς στάζουσαν γάλα, ὡς προσφάτως κυῆσασαν· καὶ ἀναληφθεῖσαι πάλιν, καὶ δικτύοις περιβληθεῖσαι, ἐνδιδύσκονται ὑποζώμασιν· ὅθεν εἰσελθουσὼν αὐτῶν, ἡ Περπετούα πρώτη κερατισθεῖσα 15 ἔπεσεν ἐπ' ὀσφύος· καὶ ἀνακαθίσασα τὸν χιτῶνα ἐκ τῆς πλευρᾶς αὐτῆς συναγαγοῦσα, ἐσκέπασεν τὸν ἑαυτῆς μηρόν, αἰδοῦς μᾶλλον μνημονεύσασα ἢ πόνων· αἰδουμένη, μηδαμῶς φροντίσασα τῶν ἀλγυδόνων· καὶ ἐπιζητήσασα βελόνην τὰ ἐσπαραγμένα συνέσφιγγεν, καὶ τὰς τρίχας τῆς κεφαλῆς περιέδρυσεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔπρε- 20 πεν τῇ μάρτυρι θριξὶν σπαραχθείσαις ὀράσθαι· ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ τιμῇ δοκῇ πευθεῖν. [καὶ κερατισθεῖσαν ἰδοῦσα τὴν Φηλικητάτην, προσῆλθεν αὐτῇ] καὶ κρατήσασα τῆς χειρὸς αὐτῆς ἤγειρεν αὐτήν. καὶ ἔστησαν ἅμα· τῆς δὲ σκληρότητος τοῦ ὄχλου ἐκνικηθείσης ἀνελήφθησαν εἰς τὴν πύλην τὴν ζωτικὴν· ἐκεῖ ἡ 25 Περπετούα ὑπὸ τινος κατηχουμένου ὀνόματι Ρουστίκου, ὃς παρειστήκει αὐτῇ, ὡς ἐξ ὑπνου ἐγερθεῖσα (οὕτως ἐν πνεύματι γέγονεν ἔκστασιν παθοῦσα), καὶ περιβλεψαμένη θαμβούντων ἀπάντων ἔφη· Πότε βαλλόμεθα πρὸς τὴν δάμαλιν ἣν λέγουσιν; καὶ ἀκούσασα ὅτι ἤδη ἐξεληλύθει πρὸς αὐτήν, οὐ πρότερον ἐπί- 30

6 διὸ δεθῆς 7 διέμεινον 15 κρατήθησα (sic) 17 αἰδοῦ 21 σπα-
ραχθήσαν 22, 23 'cod. om. [] transiliens a καὶ κερατισθεῖσαν ad καὶ κρατήσασα,'
Harris 29 βαλλώμεθα

passage has been changed in BC. But cf. *infra*, II. 7, 13.

super pulpitem] See a woodcut given by Le Blant of a man bound to a post on a slightly raised platform, and a lion springing to get at him (*Rev. Archéol.* 1889, vol. XIII. p. 155).

6 in ponte] The 'pons' may be a bridge crossing the 'fossa' which sometimes surrounded the arena.

noluit] I have treated the curious addition in BC as a gloss, as it is not found in A or g.

euenerat, non prius credidit, nisi quasdam notas uexationis in corpore et habitu suo recognouisset. exinde accersitum fratrem suum et illum catechuminum adlocuta est, dicens; In fide state, et inuicem omnes diligite; et passionibus nostris ne scandalizemini.

XXI. Item Saturus in alia porta Pudentem militem exortabatur, dicens: Ad summam, inquit, certe, sicut praesumpsi et praedixi, nullam usque adhuc bestiam sensi. et nunc de toto corde credas. ecce prodeo illo, et ab uno morsu leopardi con-
 10 sumor. et statim in fine spectaculi, leopardo eiecto, de uno morsu tanto perfusus est sanguine, ut populus reuertenti illi secundi baptismatis testimonium reclamauerit: Saluum lotum, saluum lotum. plane utique saluus erat, qui hoc modo lauerat. tunc Pudenti militi inquit: Vale, inquit, memor fidei meae; et
 15 haec te non conturbent, sed confirment. simulque ansulam de digito eius petiit, et uulneri suo mersam reddidit ei hereditatem, pignus relinquens illi et memoriam sanguinis. exinde iam exanimis prosternitur cum ceteris ad iugulationem solito loco. et cum populus illos in medio postularet, ut gladio pene-
 20 tranti in eorum corpore oculos suos comites homicidii adiungerent, ultro surrexerunt, et se quo uolebat populus transtulerunt: ante iam osculati inuicem, ut martyrium per sollemniam pacis consummarent. ceteri quidem immobiles, et cum silentio

1 uenerat B uexationes AB 2 et] C; et in B; om. A recognouisset]+ Et illum catechuminum A et exinde accersito B 3 est]+ eos B
 3, 4 ut in fide starent et inuicem se deligerent B 6 om. Pudentem A 7
 dicens; Ad summam inquit certe] A; dicens. Adsum certe BC praesumpsi]
 promisi C 7, 8 om. et praedixi, nullam usque adhuc bestiam sensi BC
 8 et nunc] et nunc ut C; nuntiet B 9 ecce producor illuc C; et cum producar
 illuc B ab uno] et nunc BC 10 leopardi obiectus B; leopardus obiectus
 C 11 morsu]+ eius B reuertenti illi] reuertendi B 12, 13 baptismi B
 declarauerat dicens. Saluum locum plane. Vtique B 13 qui hoc modo lauerat]
 om. B; qui hoc spectaculo claruerat (? C) Ruin. 14 om. inquit (pr.) B in-
 quit] inquit et (?) A; ait B memor] memento B meae] Holst.; mei AB 15
 confortent simul qui B anulum C 16 petit B uersam B om. ei B
 17 pignus] pinguens A beatam hereditatem relinquens ei pignus (illi pignus
 B) et memoriam tanti sanguinis BC 17, 18 deinde iam animis B 18 iu-
 gulatione A in solito B 19 et] sed B in medium BC postolaret A;
 postulasset B ut]+ et B 19, 20 penetrante B 20 corpore eorum B
 committentes homicidia B 21 ultro] uulso B quo] quod A uoluerat B
 22 osculati]+ in (*supra lin.*) A martyrem B 23 consumarent A; + et B
 et cum silentio] consilio B

στευσεν πρὶν ἢ σημειᾶ τινα τῆς βλάβης ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ σώματι ἑώρακει· ἀναδειχθέντων δὲ καλέσασα τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφὸν καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν κατηχούμενον παρεκάλει ἵνα ἐν πίστει διαμείνωσιν καὶ ἀλλήλους ἀγαπῶσιν, καὶ τοῖς παθήμασιν ἐκείνοις μὴ σκανδαλισθῶσιν τοιούτοις οὖσιν.

XXI. Καὶ ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πύλῃ ὁ Σάτυρος τῷ στρατιώτῃ Πούδεντι προσωμίλει, καθόλου λέγων ὅτι Κατὰ τὴν πρόλεξιν τὴν ἐμὴν, ὡς καὶ προείπον, οὐδὲ ἐν θηρίων ἡψατό μου ἕως ἄρτι· ἰδοὺ δὲ νῦν, ἵνα ἐξ ὅλης καρδίας διαπιστεύσης, προσέρχομαι, καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ δῆγματι παρδάλεως τελειοῦμαι· καὶ εὐθὺς ἐν τέλει τῆς θεωρίας 10 πάρδαλις αὐτῷ ἐβλήθη, καὶ ἐν ἐνὶ δῆγματι τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνεπλήσθη· τοσοῦτον αἷμα ἐρρύνῃ, ὡς λογισθῆναι δευτέρου βαπτισμοῦ μαρτύριον· καθὼς καὶ ἐπεφώνει ὁ ὄχλος βοῶν καὶ λέγων· Καλῶς ἐλούσω, καλῶς ἐλούσω. καὶ μὴν ὑγίης ἦν ὁ τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ λελουμένος. τότε τῷ στρατιώτῃ Πούδεντι ἔφη· 15 Ὑγίαινε καὶ μνημόνευε πίστεως καὶ ἐμοῦ· καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ στερεωσάτω σε μᾶλλον ἢ παραξάτω. καὶ δακτύλιον αἰτήσας παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐνθεὶς αὐτὸ τῷ ἰδίῳ αἵματι ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ μακαρίαν κληρονομίαν, ἀφείς μνήμην καὶ ἐνθήκην αἵματος τηλικούτου. μετὰ ταῦτα λοιπὸν ἐμπνέων ἔτι ἀπήχθη μετὰ καὶ τῶν 20 ἄλλων τῷ συνήθει τόπῳ· εἰς σφαγὴν δὲ ὁ ὄχλος ἔττησεν αὐτοὺς εἰς μέσον μεταχθῆναι, ὅπως διὰ τῶν ἁγίων σωμάτων ἐλαυνόμενον τὸ ξίφος θεάσωνται· καὶ οἱ μακάριοι μάρτυρες ἐκόντες ἠγέρθησαν· ἡσχύνοντο γὰρ ὀλίγους μάρτυρας ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῷ μακαρίῳ θανάτῳ αὐτῶν. καὶ δὴ ἐλθόντων αὐτῶν ὅπου ὁ ὄχλος 25 ἐβούλετο, πρῶτον κατεφίλησαν ἀλλήλους ἵνα τὸ μυστήριον διὰ τῶν οἰκείων τῆς πίστεως τελειώσωσιν· καὶ μετέπειτα ἀσμένως ὑπέμειναν τὴν διὰ τοῦ ξίφους τιμωρίαν· πολλῷ δὲ μᾶλλον ὁ

2 ἀναδειχθήσασα

12 δεύτερον

15 Πουδεντίω

9 *consumor*] The Greek translator took this for 'consumor'; but the word as it stands is more natural.

12 *Saluum lotum*] See above, p. 8, and Mr Harris's note *ad loc.* (p. 68).

14 *fidei meae*] 'fidei mei' AB. Possibly, following the Greek, we should read 'fidei et mei.'

19 *in medio*] See note on p. 76, l. 6.

22 *ante iam osculati*] The kiss of peace is not given in the midst of the amphitheatre, as the Greek version implies, and as the writer of the Thuburban Acts (see above, p. 25) makes his martyrs give it.

ferrum receperunt: multo magis Satorius, qui et prior ascenderat, prior reddidit spiritum; nam et Perpetuam sustinebat. Perpetua autem, ut aliquid doloris gustaret, inter ossa conpuncta exululavit; et errantem dexteram tirunculi gladiatoris ipsa in iugulum suum transtulit. fortasse tanta femina aliter non potuisset occidi, quae ab immundo spiritu timebatur, nisi ipsa uoluisset.

O fortissimi ac beatissimi martyres! o uere uocati et electi in gloriam Domini nostri Iesu Christi; quam qui magnificat et honorificat et adorat, utique et haec non minora ueteribus exempla in aedificationem Ecclesiae legere debet, ut nouae quoque uirtutes unum et eundem semper Spiritum Sanctum usque adhuc operari testificentur, [et] omnipotentem Deum Patrem et Filium eius Iesum Christum Dominum nostrum, cui est claritas et immensa potestas in saecula saeculorum. amen.

1 prior] + scalam BC 2 reddendo BC Perpetuam] perpetua A; perpetuum B sustinebat] expectabat BC 3 ut] + ipsa B gustasset inter quostas B conpuncta] conpunc (sic) A; puncta B 4 gladiatoris trunculi B 5 transtulit] posuit B fortasse] + enim B aliter] alibi B 6 quae] que B; qui A 8 uere] uiri B 9 quam] A; quoniam C; om. B 9, 10 om. et honorificat C 10 adorat] honorat sanctos BC utique] + habebit (-bat B) uitam aeternam BC non minora] nomina A; minora BC 11 om. in B aedificatione A legere] lege B debet] debemus BC ut] B; et A 11, 12 noua quoque uirtutis B 13 testificentur, et] Holst.; testificemur A 13, 14 ad hoc credamus operari, ut testificetur omnipotentis Dei et filii eius Iesu Christi Domini nostri gloria BC cuius claritas in saecula saeculorum. AMEN. B

8 uocati et electi] See above, p. 50.

10 non minora] The evidence of the MSS. seems to point to this rather than to 'non minus' which Holsten edited. The latter reading has the support of the Greek as amended by Mr Harris: but it

should be noted that the MS. has *οὐκ ἴσων*, which may have come from 'minora' (BC).

13 testificentur, et] I have inserted 'et' with Holsten: but the whole passage is very corrupt in the MSS.

Σάτυρος, ὁ δὴ πρότερος τὴν κλίμακα ἐκείνην ἀναβάς, ὃς καὶ ἔπεισεν τὴν Περπετούαν ἀναβαίνειν. ἡ δὲ Περπετούα, ἵνα καὶ αὐτὴ γεύσῃται τῶν πόνων, περὶ τὰ ὅστέα νυγείσα ἠλάλαξεν, καὶ πεπλανημένην τὴν δεξιὰν ἀπείρου μονομάχου κρατήσασα προσ- ἤγαγεν τῇ κατακλείδι ἑαυτῆς· ἴσως τὴν τοσαύτην ἡγυαῖκα τοῦ 5 ἀκαθάρτου πνεύματος φοβουμένου καὶ φονευθῆναι μὴ βουλο- μένου.

ᾧ ἀνδριώτατοι καὶ μακαριώτατοι μάρτυρες καὶ στρατιῶται ἐκλεκτοί, εἰς δόξαν Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ κεκλημένοι. πῶς μεγαλύνωμεν ὑμᾶς ἢ μακαρίσωμεν, γενναιότατοι στρατιῶται; 10 οὐχ ἦσσαν τῶν παλαιῶν γραφῶν, ἃ εἰς οἰκοδομὴν ἐκκλησίας ἀναγινώσκεσθαι ὀφείλει ἡ πανάρετος πολιτεία τῶν μακαρίων μαρτύρων * * * * * δι' ὧν δόξαν ἀναπέμπομεν τῷ πατρὶ τῶν αἰώνων, ἅμα τῷ μονογενεῖ αὐτοῦ υἱῷ τῷ κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ σὺν ἁγίῳ πνεύματι· ᾧ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς 15 τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

2 ἔφησεν

4 πεπλανημένη

5 τοῦ] ὑπὸ

11 οὐκ ἴσον

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

1. *Variants of A and B not included in the apparatus criticus.*

60,5 aequae A	7 presenti A	10 queque A	11 saecundum A
14 filieque A	62,8 ibeccillitas A	disperatio A	9 estimet A
15 martiribus A	18 cathecumini A	22 aequae A	15 cathecuminum A;
cathecuminum B	22 uberam B	26 inquit B	27 patrum B
64,4 michi A	9 spacio A	michi A	11 recipimus B
13 benefitio B	premio A	66,4 postulē A	5 que B
celum B	10 possim B	11 scale B	14 inhererent AB
16 satyrus B	19 scale B	68,1 lentae A	3 orti immensum A (<i>sed cum</i>
<i>notis transpositionis</i>)	4 habito B	5 adspexit B	6 michi B
expta sum AB	cummanducans B	11 seculum B	14 tedio AB
B	70,2 gauissus B	3 conforfortauī A	7 pranderemur A
9 inmensus B	15 infantie B	16 helarius A	21 dampnat B
michi B	8 commemerata A	9 cepi B	11 dignigratem B
estuantem A	14 fatie B; faciē A	dinogratis B	15 per infirmitate B
16 faciē carceratā A; cancerata fatie B	hodio (<i>corr. in hodie</i>) A		omnibus
A	17 facerem B	20 alcorem B	21 dinogratis B
A; expta B	26 crastensem A	74,3 man mansimus A	4 dino-
gratem B	7 umbiculum B	9 dinogratis B	cepit AB
tiebat B	11 exporecta A; expta B	12 pena A	13 milis B
14 cepit B	17 tedio AB	cepit B	19 fatiem B
76,2 apperui B	6 amphiteatrum A; amfiteatrum B		7 cumlaborabo B
8 aspitio B	10 egiptius A	fedus spetiae B	13 ceperunt B
AB	15 uoluntatem A	mire B	16 anpitheatri A; anfiteatri B
20 egiptius A; egyptius B	78,1 cepimus B	fatiem B	cedebam AB
3 cepi B	cedere B	5 apprehendi A	6 cepit AB
9 expta AB	13 satyrus B	14 inquit B	15 cepimus B
inensam B	20 testamur B	21 spacium grandē A	23 cipressi A
80,8 querebamus AB	12 edificati A; edificate B		12,13 quatuor B
17 dextera B	20 suleuauerunt A	21 fatiem B	82,6 cepit B
7 rose B	9 discensiones B	13 cepimus B	15 exptus B
84,5,6 commartires A	6 sotiam AB	12 que B	17 permittendo A
18,19 ad sublimū.tante B	21 aditientes B	24 fatiem B	86,2 cassaris A
3 orruit A	tribunos B	5 frerit A	6 obtione A
9 constantiam B	10 iuditium B	11 dicentes adtyro B	13 hodistis AB
faties B	15 antoniti B	16 illuxit A	uictorie AB
			17 amphitea-

trum AB	celum B	88,3 obsetrice A	reciarium A	loturam B
11 egyptii A	14 ceperunt B	20 martirii A	21 uellere obiei B	
22 expectaculi B	23 pulpetum B	90,1 satyrus B	nichil A	2 pre-
sumebat A	4 bestiam A	5 satyrus B	7 satyrus B	inlesus AB
8 baccam A	9 preparauit AB	10 emulatus AB	dispoliate A	11 orruit
A 13 ite B	reucate AB	19 helisam (?) A ; elisan B		20 ambe AB
reuocate B	21, 22 cathecumino A ; caticumina B		22 adherebat AB	
24 cepit B	inquit B	25 baccam A	92,3 cathecuminum A ; cati-	
cuminum B	6 satyrus B	aliam portam A	7 presumpsi AB	8 predixi A
9 morsi B	10 in finem expectaculi B	14 pudendi B		15 hec B
16, 17 ereditatem A	18 exanimes A	22 solempnia B	23 immobiles B	
94,1 satyrus B	5 gugullum B	6 immundo B	10 hec B	11
edificationem B				

2. *Note on Retranslations from a Latin Version of the N. T. in Ep. Vienn. et Lugd. apud Euseb. H. E. v. 1.*

The direct quotations in this letter give us but little guidance as to the character of the text of the N.T. used at this time in the Churches of Gaul : but the language of the writer is everywhere interwoven with Scriptural reminiscences, and in these he seems to betray a greater familiarity with a Latin Version than with the original Greek. In the following investigation I shall take the passages which suggest this phenomenon in their order, giving references to the sections in Heinichen's edition.

1. § 12 *μεγάλως ἐπτοήθημεν διὰ τὸ ἄδηλον τῆς ὁμολογίας, οὐ τὰς ἐπιφερομένας κολάσεις φοβούμενοι, ἀλλὰ τὸ τέλος ἀφορῶντες καὶ τὸ ἀποπεσεῖν τινα δεδιότες.* This may contain a retranslation of 'intuentes exitum' (= ἀναθεωροῦντες τὴν ἔκβασιν) Heb. xiii. 7.

2. § 17 *δι' ἧς ἐπέδειξεν ὁ χριστὸς ὅτι παρ' ἀνθρώποις εὐτελεῇ καὶ ἀειδῇ καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητα φαινόμενα μεγάλης καταξιούται παρὰ θεῷ δόξης.* Several passages seem partially interwoven here, but we may perhaps find a reference especially to 1 Cor. i. 28 *τὰ ἀγένη τοῦ κόσμου καὶ τὰ ἐξουθενημένα ἐξελέξατο ὁ θεὸς κ.τ.λ.*; and in this case we have a retranslation based upon 'ignobilia mundi et contemptibilia eligit Deus.' Cf. infra § 42 *ἡ μικρὰ καὶ ἀσθενὴς καὶ εὐκαταφρόνητος*, where *ἀσθενὴς* takes us back to the same context in S. Paul.

3. § 17 *διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγάπην, τὴν ἐν δυνάμει δεικνυμένην καὶ μὴ ἐν εἴδει καυχωμένην.* This recalls 1 Cor. iv. 19 *γνώσομαι οὐ τὸν λόγον τῶν πεφυσιωμένων ἀλλὰ τὴν δύναμιν*, together with 2 Cor. v. 12 *πρὸς τοὺς ἐν προσώπῳ καυχωμένους καὶ μὴ ἐν καρδίᾳ.* Here *ἐν προσώπῳ* reappears as *ἐν εἴδει* through the medium of the Latin 'qui *in facie* gloriantur.'

4. § 18 *τῆς σαρκίνης δεσποίνης αὐτῆς.* See note on p. 73 above. I have to thank Mr P. M. Barnard of Christ's College for having in the first instance called my attention to the fact that this was a retranslation of 'carnalis,' and also for help in the further investigation of the subject.

5. § 18 μηδὲν ἔχοντες μηκέτι ὁ ποιήσουσιν αὐτῇ. Cf. § 21 μηκέτι μηδὲν εἶχον ο ποιήσουσιν αὐτῷ. In Luc. xii. 4 the Vulg. translation of καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα μὴ ἐχόντων περισσώτερόν τι ποιῆσαι is 'et post haec non habent amplius quid faciant.' Cod. Bez. has 'nequa habentium amplius quid facere'; Cod. Palat. (e), 'et postea non habet amplius aliquid facere.' Μηκέτι appears to have replaced περισσώτερον through the medium of 'amplius.'

6. § 22 ὑπὸ τῆς οὐρανοῦ πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ ἐξιόντος ἐκ τῆς νηδύος τοῦ χριστοῦ δροσιζόμενος καὶ ἐνδυναμούμενος. This is based on Apoc. xxi. 6 ἐγὼ τῷ διψῶντι δώσω ἐκ τῆς πηγῆς τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς ζωῆς δωρεάν, and Jn. vii. 37, 38 εἰάν τις διψῇ ἐρχέσθω πρὸς με καὶ πινέτω. ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ, καθὼς εἶπεν ἡ γραφή, ποταμοὶ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ ῥέουσιν ὕδατος ζῶντος. The interpretation of this latter passage has been disputed, partly owing to the difficulty of connecting the words as they are ordinarily punctuated with any 'Scripture' of the O. T. This difficulty is somewhat lessened if we connect ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμέ with the previous word πινέτω, and so leave it open to refer the words ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας αὐτοῦ to Christ Himself. This interpretation, whatever be its merits or defects, was undoubtedly the one familiar to our writer who represents 'de uentre eius' of the Latin Version by ἐκ τῆς νηδύος τοῦ χριστοῦ. And the same interpretation is suggested by the colometry of the Old Latin. Cod. Bez. reads

dicens si quis sitit ueniant
et bibat qui credit in me
sicut dixit scriptura. flumina dentre
eius fluent aquae uiuae.

Cod. Palat. (e) reads likewise

si quis sitit
ueniat et bibat
qui credit in
me.
Sicut scriptum
est flumina de
uentre eius
fluent aquae
Vibae.

Thus the use of this passage by our writer has a threefold interest. It suggests that he was more familiar with a Latin Version than with the original Greek of S. John's Gospel, so that in retranslating 'de uentre' he misses ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας and substitutes ἐκ τῆς νηδύος: it indicates that the Version he used was that which we speak of as the Old Latin: and it gives very early authority for an interpretation which is now generally discarded (see Westcott *ad loc.*). Mr F. C. Burkitt of Trinity points out to me that this interpretation is suggested by the quotation of the passage in the *Speculum* (Corp. Script. Eccl. Lat. xii. p. 700) after Jerem. ii. 13 ff., the section being entitled 'Quod Dominus fons uitae nuncupetur.'

7. § 27 *έτέρας μηχανάς ό διάβολος επενόει*. In Eph. vi. 11 (*προς τας μεθοδείας του διαβολου*) the Vulg. has 'aduersus insidias diaboli': but Tertullian *adv. Marc.* v. 18 has 'ad machinationes diaboli,' and this must point to the true restoration of Ambrosiaster *in loc.* 'aduersus nationes,' especially as he afterwards in his comment speaks of 'omnia machinamenta diaboli.' 'Machinationes' would naturally reproduce itself as *μηχανάς*.

8. § 30 *ός υπό των στρατιωτών επί τώ βήμα κομισθείς...επιβοήσεις παντοίας ποιουμένων, ως αυτού όντος του Χριστού, απεδίδου την καλήν μαρτυρίαν*. The writer clearly has 1 Tim. vi. 13 in his mind, *Χριστού 'Ιησού του μαρτυρησάντος επί Ποντίου Πειλάτου την καλήν όμολογίαν*. The people cry out against Pothinus as though he were himself the Christ: he is Christ-like at least in 'witnessing the good confession' before his judge. The Vulgate here has 'Christo Jesu qui testimonium reddidit sub Pontio Pilato bonam confessionem.' Tertullian (*De Praescr.* 25) and Ambrosiaster (*ad loc.*) give 'testatus est' (Tert. v. l. 'testificatus'): but the Vulgate rendering has a flavour of antiquity about it.

9. § 40 *αυτοί θέαμα γινόμενοι (v.l. γενόμενοι) τώ κόσμω*. Cf. 1 Cor. iv. 9 *ότι θέατρον έγενήθημεν τώ κόσμω*. Here *θέαμα* represents the Latin 'spectaculum.'

10. § 48 *μηδέ αίσθησιν ένδύματος νυμφικου*. Cf. Mt. xxii. 12 *ούκ ένδεδυσμένον ένδυμα γάμου*. The word *νυμφικός* in this place has caused much trouble to the commentators (see Heinichen *ad loc.* vol. III. pp. 183 ff.). It is however a retranslation of the Latin, which reads 'non uestitum ueste nuptiali' (uestimentum nuptiale e). Cf. *infra* § 55 *ώς εις νυμφικόν δείπνον κεκλημένη*, with Apoc. xix. 9 *εις τώ δείπνον του γάμου του άρνίου* (cenam nuptiarum).

11. § 58 *ό άνομος άνομησάτω έτι, και ό δίκαιος δικαιωθήτω έτι*. Here we have a direct quotation of Apoc. xxii. 11, introduced by the words *ίνα ή γραφή πληρωθή*. The original Greek text is *ό άδικών άδικησάτω έτι, και ό ρυπαρός ρυπανθήτω έτι, και ό δίκαιος δικαιοσύνην ποιησάτω έτι*. Our writer therefore quotes from memory, and his recollection seems here again to be of the Latin Version. The Vulgate has 'qui nocet noceat adhuc, et qui in sordibus est sordescat adhuc, et qui iustus est iustificetur adhuc.' But Tichonius *ad loc.* (Hom. 19) gives 'qui iniustus est iniusta faciat adhuc.' And Primasius *ad loc.* also says 'nam et alia translatio: *qui iniustus est, ait, iniuste faciat adhuc.*' 'Ανομος then seems to be a retranslation of 'iniustus,' and possibly *δικαιωθήτω* (for which however there is some slight Greek evidence) may have come from 'iustificetur.'

12. c. 2 § 5 *έλυον άπαντας, έδέσμευον δέ ούδένα· και ύπέρ των τά δεινά διατιθέντων ηύχοντο*. We have here a clear reference to the power of 'binding and loosing' spoken of in Mt. xvi. 19, xviii. 18; but *δέω* is the word in either case, and not *δεσμεύω*, which may be explained as a retranslation of the Latin 'ligare.' The second clause may refer to Luc. vi. 28 *προσεύχεσθε περί των επηρεαζόντων ύμās*. Here the Latin is 'orate pro calumniantibus uos' (orate pro eis qui uobis iniuria faciunt e).

By adhering to the order of the narrative I have necessarily placed some of the less convincing examples first; but I think that a fair case is made out on the whole for believing that the Gallican Churches were familiar with a

Latin Version of the New Testament : and examples (6), (7) and (11) connect that Version with what is commonly known as the African Old Latin.

3. *Note on the reading of the text in c. xvi. (p. 84, ll. 18 ff.).*

Holsten edited in this passage

‘etsi indigni ad supplementum tantae gloriae describendum.’

This is unsatisfactory, not only because it twice deserts his own MS. and the other two, but also because it does not yield the required sense. ‘Gloria’ refers to the martyrdom itself and not to the imprisonment of the martyrs and their visions. So that ‘supplementum tantae gloriae’ is an awkward collocation. What is left unfinished and needs completion is not the martyrdom but its record. ‘To complete the description of this great glory’ is the task before the writer. I have therefore restored ‘describendae’ by the aid of B; and this is not far from ‘describenti’ of A. ‘Indigni’ (Holst.) may perhaps be right: the Greek seems to confirm it. A reads ‘indigna,’ B ‘indigne’; and this latter gives a fair sense when taken either with ‘conscribi’ or with ‘exequimur.’

In the next sentence (l. 22) I have retained the reading of A, merely changing ‘tractanti’ into ‘tractantur’ (Holst. ‘tractarentur’). But the coincidence of BCg in the participial form makes me somewhat uncertain whether we have yet recovered the true reading of this passage.

4. *The Shorter Latin Acts of the Passion of S. Perpetua.*

I reprint for the sake of reference these Acts from Aubé (*Les Chrétiens dans l’empire romain*, 2nd ed. pp. 521 ff.), who edits them from *Biblioth. Nat. fonds latin* 5269, 5279, 5297, 5311, 5318, 5349. They are given somewhat differently by Pillet (*Hist. de S. Perpétue*) from *fonds latin* 14650, and from *Bruxelles* 207—8 (printed in *Anal. Bolland.*). The MSS. of them are legion.

Facta persecutione sub Valeriano et Gallieno consulibus, comprehensi sunt uenerabiles uiri iuuenes Satyrus et Saturninus, duo fratres, Reuocatus et Felicitas soror eius et Perpetua quae erat de nobili genere et habebat patrem et matrem et duos fratres et filium ad mamillam: annorum enim erat illa duorum et uiginti. apud African in ciuitate Tuburbitanorum.

Minutius proconsul dixit ad eos: Inuictissimi principes Valerianus et Gallienus iusserunt ut sacrificetis. Satyrus respondit: Hoc non sumus facturi, Christiani enim sumus. proconsul iussit eos recludi in carcerem; siquidem hora erat prope tertia.

Audiens uero pater Perpetuae eam esse comprehensam cucurrit ad carcerem, et uidens eam dixit: Quid hoc fecisti, filia? dehonestasti enim generationem tuam. nunquam enim de genere nostro aliquis missus est in carcerem. Perpetua uero dixit ad eum: Pater, ecce, uerbi gratia, uides uas iacens aut fictile aut cuiuslibet generis? et ille respondit: Video, quid ad haec? Per-

petua dixit: Numquid aliud nomen potest habere quam quod est? at ille respondit: Non. Perpetua dixit: Nec ego aliud nomen accipere possum quam quod sum Christiana. tunc pater eius audito uerbo irruit super eam, uolens oculos eius eruere; et exclamans, confusus, egressus est foras.

Orantes uero et sine cessatione preces ad Deum effundentes, cum essent multis diebus in carcere, quadam nocte uidens uisum sancta Perpetua alia die retulit commartyribus suis ita dicens:

Vidi in uisu hac nocte scalam erectam [aeream *aliā*] mirabili altitudine usque ad caelum, et ita erat angusta ut nonnisi unus per eam ascendere posset. dextra uero laeuaque inerant fixi cultri et gladii ferrei, ut nullus circa se nisi ad caelum respicere posset. sub ea uero iacebat latens draco teterrimus ingenti forma, ut prae metu eius quiuus ascendere formidaret. uidi etiam ascendentem per eam Satyrum usque ad sursum, et respicientem ad nos et dicentem: Ne uereamini hunc draconem qui iacet; confortamini in gratia Christi; ascendite et nolite timere, ut mecum partem habere possitis. uidi etiam iuxta scalam hortum ingentem, copiosissimum et amoenum; et in medio horto sedentem senem in habitu pastoralis et mulgentem oues, et in gyro eius stantem multitudinem candidatorum: et aspiciens ad nos uocauit ad se et dedit nobis omnibus de fructu lactis. et cum gustassemus, turba candidatorum responderunt Amen. et sic prae clamore uocum sum expegefacta.

At uero illi cum haec audissent gratias agentes insufficienter Domino cognouerunt se ex reuelatione beatissimae Perpetuae ad martyrii coronam dignos esse effectos.

Post haec uero procedens Minutius proconsul et sedens pro tribunali eos exhiberi praecepit: dixitque ad eos: Sacrificate diis; sic enim iusserunt perpetui principes. Satyrus respondit: Deo magis oportet sacrificare quam idolis. proconsul dixit: Pro te respondes, aut pro omnibus? Satyrus dixit: Pro omnibus, una enim est in nobis uoluntas. proconsul ad Saturninum, Reuocatum, Felicitatem et Perpetuam dixit: Vos quid dicitis? at illi responderunt: Verum est: unam gerimus uoluntatem.

Proconsul iussit uiros a mulieribus separari: et ad Satyrum dixit: Sacrifica, iuuenis, et ne te meliorem quam principes iudices esse. Satyrus respondit: Meliorem me iudico apud uerum principem et praesentis et futuri saeculi, si colluctando pati meruero. proconsul dixit: Suade tibi, et sacrifica, iuuenis. Satyrus respondit: Hoc ego non sum factururus.

Proconsul ad Saturninum dixit: Sacrifica uel tu, iuuenis, ut ualeas uiuere. Saturninus respondit: Christianus sum, et hoc mihi facere non licet.

Proconsul ad Reuocatum dixit: Forte et tu sequeris uoluntatem illorum. Reuocatus respondit: Eorum plane propter Deum sequor desideria. proconsul dixit: Sacrificate ne uos interficiam. Reuocatus respondit: Deum oramus ut hoc mereamur.

Proconsul eos remoueri praecepit, et Felicitatem et Perpetuam sibi iussit offerri. dixit autem ad Felicitatem: Quae diceris? respondit: Felicitas. proconsul dixit: Virum habes? Felicitas respondit: Habeo quem nunc con-

temno. proconsul dixit : Vbi est? Felicitas dixit : Non est hic. proconsul dixit : Quo genere est? Felicitas respondit : Plebeius. proconsul dixit : Parentes habes? Felicitas dixit : Non habeo : Reuocatus uero congermanus meus est. uerumtamen his maiores parentes habere non potero. proconsul dixit : Miserere tui, puella, et sacrifica ut uiuas ; maxime quia te infantem in utero habere uideo. Felicitas respondit : Ego Christiana sum, et haec omnia mihi propter Deum contemnere praecepta sunt. proconsul dixit : Consule tibi, doleo enim de te. Felicitas respondit : Fac quod uis ; mihi enim persuadere non poteris.

Proconsul ad Perpetuam dixit : Quid dicis, Perpetua? sacrificas? Perpetua, Christiana, inquit, sum, et nominis mei sequor auctoritatem, ut sim perpetua. proconsul dixit : Parentes habes? Perpetua respondit : Habeo.

Audientes uero parentes eius pater, mater, fratres, et maritus simulque cum paruulo eius qui erat ad lac, uenerunt, cum essent de nobili genere. et uidens eam pater eius stantem ante proconsulis tribunal, cadens in faciem suam dixit ad eam : Filia, iam non filia sed domina, miserere aetati meae patris tui, si tamen mereor dici pater ; miserere et matris tuae, quae te ad talem florem aetatis perduxit, miserere et fratribus tuis, et huic infelicissimo uiro tuo, certe uel paruulo huic qui post te uiuere non poterit. depone hanc cogitationem tuam. nemo enim nostrum post te uiuere poterit, quia hoc generi meo nunquam contigit. Perpetua uero stabat immobilis, et respiciens in caelum dixit ad patrem suum : Pater, noli uereri : Perpetuam enim filiam tuam, si non obstiteris, perpetuam filiam tuam possidebis.

Proconsul dixit : Moueant te et excitent ad dolorem lacrymae parentum tuorum, praeterea uoces paruuli tui. Perpetua dixit : Mouebunt me lacrymae eorum, si a conspectu Domini et a consortio horum sanctorum, cum quibus secundum uisionem meam fratribus bonis sum copulata, fuero aliena inuenta.

Pater uero iactans infantem in collum eius et ipse cum matre et marito tenentes manus eius et flentes osculabantur dicentes : Miserere nostri, filia, et uiue nobiscum. at illa prospiciens [*u. l.* proiciens] infantem eosque repellens dixit : Recedite a me operarii iniquitatis, quia non noui uos. non enim potero maiores et meliores uos facere quam Deum qui me ad hanc gloriam perducere dignatus est.

Videns uero proconsul eorum perseuerantiam, data sententia Satyrum, Saturninum et Reuocatum flagellis caesos, et Perpetuam et Felicitatem exalapatas, in carcerem recipi praecepit, ut in Caesaris natale bestiis mitterentur. et cum essent in carcere iterum uidit uisionem Perpetua : Aegyptium quemdam horridum et nigrum, iacentem et uolutantem se sub pedibus eorum ; retulitque sanctis fratribus et commartyribus suis. at illi intelligentes gratias egerunt Domino, qui, prostrato inimico generis humani, eos laude martyrii dignos habuerit.

Contristantibus uero iis de Felicitate quod esset praegnans in mensibus octo, statuerunt unanimiter pro ea precem ad Dominum fundere. et dum orarent, subito enixa est uiuum. quidam uero de custodibus dixit ad eam : Quid factura es cum ueneris in amphitheatrum, quae talibus detineris

tormentis? Felicitas respondit: Hic ego crucior; ibi uero pro me Dominus patietur.

Facto itaque die natali Caesaris, concursus ingens fiebat populi in amphitheatrum ad spectaculum eorum. procedente uero proconsule, eos ad amphitheatrum perducere praecepit. euntibus uero eis sequebatur Felicitas, quae ex sanguine carnis ad salutem sanguinis [*u. l. salutis sanguinem*] ducebatur, et de obstetrice ad gladium, et de lauazione post partum balnei sanguinis effusione meruit delauari [*u. l. relauari*]. adclamante uero turba, positi sunt in medio amphitheatri nudi, ligatis post tergum manibus; et dimissis bestiis diuersis, Satyrus et Perpetua a leonibus sunt deuorati. Saturninus uero ab ursis erutus gladio est percussus. Reuocatus uero et Felicitas a leopardis gloriosum agonem impleuerunt.

Horum ergo famosissimorum et beatissimorum Martyrum, sanctissimi fratres, qui passi sunt sub Valeriano et Gallieno imperatoribus apud Africam in ciuitate Tuburbitanorum sub Minutio proconsule die nonarum Martiarum, fideliter memoriis communicantes actus eorum in ecclesia ad edificationem legite, precantes Dei misericordiam ut orationibus eorum et omnium sanctorum nostri misereatur, atque participes eorum efficere dignetur, in gloriam et laudem nominis sui, quod est benedictum in saecula saeculorum. amen.

APPENDIX

THE ACTS OF THE SCILLITAN MARTYRS

THE ORIGINAL LATIN TEXT

TOGETHER WITH

THE GREEK VERSION AND THE LATER LATIN
RECENSIONS

THE ACTS OF THE SCILLITAN MARTYRS.

THE Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs were printed by Baronius under the year 202, apparently from two or three MSS., some of the readings of which he records. They were reprinted by Ruinart who added a somewhat different recension from a Colbertine MS., and also a fragment of about ten lines of yet another recension which Mabillon had found at Reichenau (Mab. *Vet. Anal.* iv. 155).

The recension of Baronius mentioned Severus and Antoninus (i.e. Caracalla) as the reigning Emperors, and the Colbertine recension also spoke of more than one Emperor, though no names were given. This being so, it seemed that the Martyrdom could not be referred to an earlier date than the year 198, in which Caracalla received the title of Augustus. On the other hand Mabillon's fragment spoke of one Emperor only, but did not mention his name. The three recensions agreed in naming Saturninus as the proconsul; and, as Tertullian tells us (*Ad Scap.* 3) that he was the first to draw the sword on the Christians in Africa, it was difficult to place the Martyrdom later than 200.

The names of the Consuls only introduced fresh confusion, as they were given in so corrupt a form that it seemed hopeless to try and identify them. Mabillon gave: *Praesidente bis Claudiano consule*. Baronius: *Existente* (alias *praestante*; alias *praesente*) *Claudio* (alias *Claudiano*) *consule*. The Colbertine recension omitted them altogether. M. Léon Renier suspected that the word *bis* pointed to a Consul's name underlying the preceding word, and wished to refer the Martyrdom to 180, Praesens II. and Condianus. This earlier date harmonised much better with Tertullian's notice of Saturninus, but it was only possible to

accept it if Mabillon's fragment were regarded as representing the more original form of the Martyrdom.

The ingenious conjecture of M. Renier has been completely justified with the accession of fresh documents. In 1881 Usener published the Martyrdom in a Greek form from a MS., dated 890, in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris¹. This opened with the names of two Consuls, though still in a corrupt form (ἐπὶ Πέρσαντος τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Κλαυδιανοῦ τῶν ὑπάτων), and spoke throughout the piece of the Emperor in the singular number. Moreover it represented a shorter recension than either that of Baronius or the Colbertine, and it bore throughout an impress of greater originality.

All difficulty as to the date was thus at an end; but a new controversy was raised as to the origin of the Greek form of the Martyrdom. Usener at once declared it to be a translation from a lost Latin original. In this he was followed by Hilgenfeld, who added that it bore a closer relation to the fragment of Mabillon than to the other recensions. Duchesne made a like observation, but gave no opinion on the question of a Greek or Latin original. On the other hand, Aubé contended that the original document was written in Greek, as he had himself suspected before Usener's discovery was made known². Bonnet and Sittl pronounced the same judgment³.

After examining Aubé's arguments I felt convinced that Usener's decision was the correct one; and I believed moreover that if we had the whole of the document represented by Mabillon's fragment we should probably be in possession of the source of all the three recensions hitherto published. I have been confirmed in this view by the discovery of the very document which I had desired to find; and I now publish it in the belief that we have at last the original Latin form of the Martyrdom. On the 30th of August, 1890, I found in the British Museum a codex (No. 11,880) assigned to the ninth century, containing the Scillitan Martyrdom in a form agreeing exactly with Mabillon's fragment, as far as that fragment goes. The remainder of the piece, for

¹ *Index Scholarum*, &c. Bonn, 1881.

² *Étude sur un nouveau texte des Actes des Martyrs Scillitains*, Paris, 1881.

³ Sittl, *Local peculiarities of Latin*, p. 112.

here we have it in its entirety, will be read with the greatest interest, not only as a fresh contribution to our knowledge of popular African Latin of the second century, but also as a simple and inspiring narrative of the brave endurance of the early African Christians. It is brief, almost to obscurity; and we can readily understand that it would need to be paraphrased and enlarged for Church purposes, so as to provide a somewhat longer and less difficult lection for the commemoration of the Martyrs. In its contents it is, as might be expected, in closest correspondence with the Greek form: and we may pronounce over it at once the same eulogy with which Aubé greeted the appearance of the Greek itself: 'c'est infiniment plus simple, plus grave, plus impersonnel et plus court que les autres textes.'

Shortly after my first discovery I found in the State Library at Évreux a 13th century MS. (No. 37, f. 55), and in the Hof-Bibliothek at Vienna (No. 377) an 11th century MS., of the same Passion. Both of these offer texts which correspond very closely to that of the MS. in the British Museum. Their modifications consist almost entirely of additions; and they help to restore a few passages where the earlier MS. is at fault. I have recorded their variants in the critical notes, but I have adopted none of them into the text, unless they were justified by the other recensions.

I have collated afresh the Paris Codex of the Greek version, and have printed it without modification as it stands in the MS. I have also reprinted for the sake of reference the Latin recension given by Baronius, and that from the MS. of the Abbey of Silos in Spain (Bibliothèque Nat., *fonds latin* n. a. 2179) as given in Aubé's edition. This MS. gives an earlier form of the Colbertine recension, which comes from *fonds latin* 5306 ('olim Colbertinus').

In the critical notes A = Brit. Mus. 11,880 (9th cent.), B = Vienna 377 (11th cent.), and C = Évreux no. 37 (13th cent.).

When we compare the newly found Latin text with the Greek, we note that it does not, like that and one of the Latin recensions, prefix the title of 'Saint' to each of the Martyrs whose words are recorded. It does not describe the exultation of Speratus when judgment is pronounced, but simply records his words:

‘Deo gratias agimus.’ Similarly it does not give the full thanksgiving of all the Martyrs, but simply repeats: ‘Deo gratias.’ It says nothing about ‘sending up the Amen,’ which is a commonplace of Martyrologists. The close of the piece, moreover, has been altered and expanded in the Greek, in which the locality of the Martyrs is named, and the exquisite phrase ‘regnant cum Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto’ has been rejected, as it has been also in both the recensions of the Latin. All these points may be regarded as evidence of the superior antiquity of the newly found Latin form.

As regards its relation to the two Latin recensions hitherto known, it is sufficient to refer to them as printed below, where their interpolations and modifications will be found in italic type. But it is worth while to note that almost every word of the ancient form is preserved in one or other of these recensions, which have modified their original in different directions.

Although it is scarcely probable that the theory of a Greek original will be revived after the publication of the present Latin text, it may be well to examine some of the arguments by which the theory has been supported.

Aubé’s main argument is founded on the brevity of the Greek form as compared with the two Latin recensions. But our new Latin document is shorter still: so that the argument from brevity changes hands, and henceforth tends to shew that the Greek is itself a translation and to some extent an amplification. The two texts printed side by side below will speak for themselves in this matter: but we may select a few conspicuous examples.

In the opening sentence, and again near the close, we have the additional date ὅπερ ἐστὶν Ἰουλίῳ ιζ’, to explain to Greek readers ‘xvi Kalendas Augustas.’

In the following sentence *κακῶς δεχθέντες*, which Aubé rightly disliked and which he wished to replace by *κακῶς λεχθέντες* or *κακῶς διωχθέντες*, explains itself quite well when we regard it as a literal translation of ‘male accepti.’ The same remark will apply to *γαληνιώσας* as a translation of ‘tranquillas.’

There can be no doubt that in the phrase *κατὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἱερέων*, either the translator or a copyist (as Aubé supposes) has

blundered in putting *ιέρων* for *ιερών*. We now see that the Latin before him was 'de sacris (not 'sacrificiis') nostris.'

The word *πιθανότης* need no longer cause us trouble, when we regard it as a poor equivalent of 'persuasio.'

We have good instances of paraphrase or amplification in the following:

Nolite huius dementiae esse participes.

In re tam iusta nulla est deliberatio.

Quae sunt res in capsâ uestra?

Μὴ βουληθῆτε τῆς τοιαύτης μανίας
καὶ παραφροσύνης γενέσθαι ἢ δειχθῆναι
συμμέτοχοι.

Ἐν πράγματι οὕτως ἐγκρίτω οὐδεμία
καθίσταται βουλή ἢ διάσκεψις.

Ὅποῖαι πραγματεῖαι τοῖς ὑμετέροις
ἀπόκεινται σκεύεσιν;

The modification of the close of the piece has already been referred to, and deserves particular attention. It is impossible to believe that there, any more than in the passages just quoted, the Latin text could have been produced by an abbreviation of the Greek.

The curious phrase 'iniquitati nullam operam praebuimus' has no counterpart at all in the Greek: but any one who attempts to find a rendering for it will pardon the Greek translator, if he used the licence of a paraphrast and purposely omitted it. If this explanation of its absence be admitted, the flourish of amplification, of which Aubé justly complained at this point in the later Latin recensions, can no longer be alleged in favour of the originality of the Greek.

The main body therefore of Aubé's argument is seen to have disappeared altogether. All that remains is the argument from the names of the Consuls, and the argument from the proclamation of the herald after sentence had been pronounced.

With regard to the first of these we now read by the aid of the Vienna MS., 'Praesente bis et Claudiano consulibus'; so that here we have a form obviously more correct than that in the Greek, which has hitherto been the nearest to the truth. The explanation of the mistake in the various Latin texts is not far to seek 'Praesente' was taken, at a very early period, as a participle; and so it threw the whole sentence out of gear. It was itself transformed into 'praesidente,' 'praestante,' and 'existente':

it soon cast out the 'bis'; and, when only one proper name was left, 'consule' took the place of 'consulibus,' and so the error was complete. In the Greek the corruption was of a different character, and only affected the spelling of the first Consul's name. As to the second Consul, all our witnesses give 'Claudiano,' and I have accordingly printed this, and not 'Condiano,' in the text.

With reference to the order given to the herald, the Colbertine recension reads 'per praeconem duci iussit,' a quite impossible reading. The Greek gives *διὰ τοῦ κήρυκος τὰ τῶν ἀγίων μαρτύρων ὀνόματα κηρυχθῆναι προσέταξεν*. This no doubt gave the true sense: but we now see that it is a somewhat clumsy paraphrase of 'per praeconem *dici* iussit.'

Among the names thus proclaimed by the herald we find in the Greek *Καιλεστῖνον* (cod. *Κελεστῖνον*), which answers to 'Laetantium' in the Latin texts. Aubé supposes, at the suggestion of Renan, that 'Laetantium' arose from a division of the Greek *Καιλεστῖνον* into *καὶ* and *λεστῖνον*, the copula being then dropped because the other names in the list were without it. This is ingenious. The new Latin text leaves the matter where it was: but I cannot think that so precarious an argument can have any force, when it stands absolutely alone.

PASSIO SANCTORVM SCILITANORVM.

Praesente bis et Claudiano consulibus, XVI Kalendas Augustas, Kartagine in secretario inpositis Sperato, Nartzalo et Cittino, Donata, Secunda, Vestia, Saturninus proconsul dixit: Potestis indulgentiam domni nostri imperatoris promereri, si
5 ad bonam mentem redeatis.

Speratus dixit: Numquam malefecimus, iniquitati nullam operam praebuimus; numquam malediximus, sed male accepti gratias egimus; propter quod imperatorem nostrum observamus.

Saturninus proconsul dixit: Et nos religiosi sumus, et
10 simplex est religio nostra, et iuramus per genium domni nostri imperatoris, et pro salute eius supplicamus, quod et uos quoque facere debetis.

Speratus dixit: Si tranquillas praeberis aures tuas, dico mysterium simplicitatis.

15 Saturninus dixit: Initianti tibi mala de sacris nostris aures non praebebo; sed potius iura per genium domni nostri imperatoris.

Speratus dixit: Ego imperium huius seculi non cognosco; sed magis illi Deo serui, quem nemo hominum uidit nec uidere
20 his oculis potest. furtum non feci; sed siquid emero teloneum reddo: quia cognosco domnum meum, regem regum et imperatorem omnium gentium.

PASSIO SCILLITANORVM. C; INCIPIT PASSIO SANCTORVM MARTYRVM SCYLLITANORVM, ID EST SPERATI, NAZARI, CITTONI, DONATAE, BISTEAE. B

1 Praesente bis et Claudiano consulibus] B; In diebus illis presidente bis Claudiano consule A; Presente Claudiano consule C 2 Cartagine B; apud Kartaginem C Nartzalo et Cittino] A; et Naharo, Cittono B; Narcallo Cithino C 3 Bistea B; et Bestia C Saturinus B *semper* 4 domini B; dñi C 5 redeatis]+et sacrificetis diis omnipotentibus BC 6 numquam] numquid B nullam] ullam C 7 prebemus A; prohibuimus B 8 observamus]+et timemus et adoramus et ipsi cotidie sacrificium nostrae laudis offerimus BC 10 nostra religio B genium] C; ingenium A; regnum B domini, *om.* nostri B 11 eius salute A *om.* quod B 12 *om.* quoque BC 13 dicit A 15 initianti] A *super rasuram*; initiant B; iniciasti, *om.* tibi C mala] male C aures]+meas C 16 sed potius iura] A; potius iurate BC ingenium A *om.* domni nostri BC 18 agnosco A 19 deo serui] A;

MARTYΡΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΜΙΝΙΚΟΥ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΣ
ΣΠΕΡΑΤΟΥ.

Ἐπὶ Πέρσαντος τὸ δεύτερον καὶ Κλαυδιανοῦ τῶν ὑπάτων, πρὸ 15 καλανδῶν αὐγούστων ὅπερ ἐστὶν Ἰουλίῳ 15, ἐν τῷ κατὰ Καρθαγέννα βουλευτηρίῳ ἤχθησαν παραστάσιμοι Σπερᾶτος Νάρτζαλος καὶ Κιττίνος Δονᾶτα Σεκούνδα καὶ Ἑστία, πρὸς οὓς Σατουρνίνος ὁ ἀνθύπατός φησιν· Ἐδύνασθε παρὰ τοῦ ἡμῶν 5 αὐτοκράτορος συγχωρήσεως ἀξιωθῆναι, ἐὰν ἄρα σόφρονα λογισμὸν ἀνακαλέσησθε.

Ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Σπερᾶτος ἀπεκρίνατο λέγων· Οὐδέποτε ἐκακουρήσαμεν, οὐδέποτε κατηρασάμεθα, ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ κακῶς δεχθέντες εὐχαριστοῦμεν, ἐπειδὴ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλεῖ δουλεύομεν. 10

Σατουρνίνος ὁ ἀνθύπατος ἔφη· Ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡμεῖς θρησκευόμεν, καὶ ἀπλῇ ἢ καθ' ἡμᾶς θρησκεία καθέστηκεν· καὶ δὴ ὁμνύομεν κατὰ τῆς συμπεφυκυίας εὐδαιμονίας τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν βασιλέως καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας ἱκετεύομεν· ὃ καὶ ὑμᾶς ὡσαύτως χρῆ ποιεῖν. 15

Ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Σπερᾶτος εἶπεν· Ἐὰν γαληνιώσας μοι τὰς σὰς ἀκοὰς παράσχοις, ἐρῶ τὸ τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἀπλότητος μυστήριον.

Σατουρνίνος ὁ ἀνθύπατος ἔφη· Ἐναρξαμένου σου πονηρὰ λέγειν κατὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων ἱερέων τὰς ἀκοὰς μου οὐ προσθήσω· ἀλλ' ὁμόσατε μᾶλλον κατὰ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας τοῦ δεσπότης ἡμῶν 20 αὐτοκράτορος.

Ὁ ἅγιος Σπερᾶτος λέγει· Ἐγὼ τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ νῦν αἰῶνος οὐ γινώσκω· αἰνῶ δὲ καὶ λατρεύω τῷ ἐμῷ θεῷ, ὃν οὐδεὶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων τεθέεται· οὐδὲ γὰρ οἶόντε τούτοις τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ὅμμασι. κλοπὴν οὐ πεποίηκα· ἀλλ' εἴ τι καὶ πράσσω, τὸ τέλος 25 ἀποτίνυμι, ὅτι ἐπιγινώσκω τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν καὶ βασιλέα τῶν βασιλέων καὶ δεσπότην πάντων τῶν ἐθνῶν.

solī seruio deo B; seruio C 20 oculis]+ carnalibus BC potest]+ nisi oculis
cordis: si fidem habuerimus uidebimus (uidemus C) lumen uerum BC non] A;
nāq B; nunquam C siquid emero] AC; quidē mei noro B theloneum BC
21 domnum]+ deum B regem regum et imperatorem] sic restitui ex cod.
Baroniano et uersione graeca; et imperatorem regum A super rasuram; imperatorem
regum et BC

Saturninus proconsul dixit ceteris : Desinite huius esse persuasionis.

Speratus dixit : Mala est persuasio homicidium facere, falsum testimonium dicere.

5 Saturninus proconsul dixit : Nolite huius dementiae esse participes.

Cittinus dixit : Nos non habemus alium quem timeamus, nisi domnum Deum nostrum qui est in caelis.

Donata dixit : Honorem Caesari quasi Caesari ; timorem
10 autem Deo.

Vestia dixit : Christiana sum.

Secunda dixit : Quod sum, ipsud uolo esse.

Saturninus proconsul Sperato dixit : Perseueras Christianus?

Speratus dixit : Christianus sum : et cum eo omnes con-
15 senserunt.

Saturninus proconsul dixit : Numquid ad deliberandum spatium uultis ?

Speratus dixit : In re tam iusta nulla est deliberatio.

Saturninus proconsul dixit : Quae sunt res in capsula uestra ?

20 Speratus dixit : Libri et epistolae Pauli uiri iusti.

Saturninus proconsul dixit : Moram xxx dierum habete et recordemini.

Speratus iterum dixit : Christianus sum : et cum eo omnes consenserunt.

25 Saturninus proconsul decretum ex tabella recitauit : Spera-

1 dixit : ceteris desinite A ; dixit : desinite B ; dixit : desine C huius] + modi
B 1, 2 persuasionis esse C 3 respondit B dixit] + siquidem BC
facere] A ; perpetrare BC 5 huius] furoris huius et BC 5, 6 participes
esse BC 7 Cithinus C dicit A ; respondit BC om. nos A habemus]
+ cotidie B om. alium A 8 om. deum A nostrum] + Iesum
Christum A caelis] + ipsum solum timemus (timere studemus C) ex toto corde
nostro et ex tota anima nostra (+ Saturninus dixit C) tu quid dicis, Donata BC
9 respondit Donata BC Caesar] quasi] Caesaris do C 10 deo] +
Saturninus dixit : tuquid dicis, Bestia (Bistea B ut semper) BC 11 Bestia
respondit BC sum] + nec aliud (aliam C) me esse profiteor. Saturninus
dixit : quid tu dicis, Secunda BC 12 respondit Secunda BC ipsum esse
uolo C 13 christianus] + esse BC 14 respondit BC omnes] +
unanimitur BC 16 proconsul dixit] A ; respondit BC numquid] nisi C
17 uultis spatium A 18 respondit C iusta nulla est commutatio A ;
bona non est deliberatio BC (Cf. *Acta S. Cypriani* Ruin. p. 217 in re tam iusta
nulla est consultatio) 19 om. proconsul B capsula] B ; causa A ; cā C

Σατουρνίνος ὁ ἀνθύπατος ἔφη πρὸς τοὺς λοιπούς· Ἀπόστητε ἀπὸ τῆς ἀποδείχθείσης ταύτης πιθανότητος.

Ὁ ἅγιος Σπεράτος ἔφη· Ἐκείνη ἐστὶν ἐπισηφαλὴς πιθανότης, τὸ ἀνδροφονίαν κατεργάζεσθαι ἢ ψευδομαρτυρίαν κατασκευάζειν.

5

Σατουρνίνος ὁ ἀνθύπατος εἶπεν· Μὴ βουληθῆτε τῆς τοσαύτης μανίας καὶ παραφροσύνης γενέσθαι ἢ δειχθῆναι συμμέτοχοι.

Ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Κιττίνος ὑπολαβὼν ἀπεκρίνατο· Ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἔχομεν ἕτερον ὃν φοβηθῶμεν, εἰ μὴ κύριον τὸν θεὸν ἡμῶν τὸν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς κατοικοῦντα.

10

Ἡ δὲ ἁγία Δουᾶτα ἔφη· Τὴν μὲν τιμὴν τῷ Καίσαρι ὡς Καίσαρι, τὸν φόβον δὲ τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν ἀποδίδομεν.

Ἡ δὲ ἁγία Ἑστία λέγει· Ἐγὼ χριστιανὴ καθίσταμαι.

Ἔτι δὲ ἡ ἁγία Σεκουνδα ἔφη· Ὅπερ εἰμί, καὶ διαμεῖναι πορεύομαι.

15

Τότε Σατουρνίνος ὁ ἀνθύπατος τῷ ἁγίῳ Σπεράτῳ εἶπεν· Ἐπιμένεις ὡσαύτως χριστιανός;

Ὁ ἅγιος Σπεράτος εἶπεν· Χριστιανὸς ὑπάρχω. τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ πάντες ἅγιοι εἶπαν.

Σατουρνίνος ὁ ἀνθύπατος ἔφη· Μὴ ἄρα πρὸς διάσκεψιν ἀναμονῆς χρήξετε;

Ὁ ἅγιος Σπεράτος ἔφη· Ἐν πράγματι οὕτως ἐγκρίτῳ οὐδεμία καθίσταται βουλὴ ἢ διάσκεψις.

Σατουρνίνος ὁ ἀνθύπατος ἔφη· Ὅποῖαι πραγματεῖαι τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἀπόκεινται σκεύεσιν;

25

Ὁ ἅγιος Σπεράτος εἶπεν· Αἱ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίβλοι καὶ αἱ προσεπιτούτοις ἐπιστολαὶ Παύλου τοῦ ὁσίου ἀνδρός.

Σατουρνίνος ὁ ἀνθύπατος ἔφη· Προθεσμία τριάκοντα ἡμερῶν ὑμῖν ἔστω εἰ πὼς σωφρονήσητε.

Ὁ ἅγιος Σπεράτος παρ' αὐτὰ ἀπεκρίνατο· Χριστιανὸς ἀμετάθετος τυγχάνω. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ὁμοθυμαδὸν συναπεφθέγγαντο.

Τότε Σατουρνίνος ὁ ἀνθύπατος τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ψήφον

20 libri] A; uenerandi (-da B) libri legis divinae BC Pauli]+apostoli BC
 21, 22 habe tenere condenimini B 23 om. iterum C sum]+et indesinenter
 dominum deum meum colo et adoro (et trinitatem deum credo et adoro et colo
 B) qui fecit caelum et terram, mare et omnia quae in eis sunt BC 25 pro-
 consul]+dixit C om. decretum B recitauit C

tum, Nartzalum, Cittinum, Donatam, Vestiam, Secundam et ceteros ritu Christiano se uiuere confessos, quoniam oblata sibi facultate ad Romanorum morem redeundi obstinanter perseuerauerunt, gladio animaduerti placet.

5 Speratus dixit : Deo gratias agimus.

Nartzalus dixit : Hodie martyres in caelis sumus : Deo gratias.

Saturninus proconsul per praeconem dici iussit : Speratum, Nartzalum, Cittinum, Veturium, Felicem, Aquilinum,
10 Laetantium, Ianuariam, Generosam, Vestiam, Donatam, Secundam duci iussi.

Vniuersi dixerunt : Deo gratias.

Et ita omnes simul martyrio coronati sunt, et regnant cum Patre et Filio et Spiritu Sancto per omnia secula seculorum.

15 amen.

1 Nartadum B; Nartallum C Cithinum C Bestiam C 2 Christiano ritu BC se uiuere] C; seruire B; uiuere A quoniam] et quod BC
2, 3 oblata sibi facultate] B; post (*om.* post A) oblatam sibi facultatem AC
4 animaduerti] animas percuti B 5 deo]+omnipotenti insufficienter (-tes B) BC 6 Nartadus B; Nartallus C sumus] esse meruimus BC 8 *om.* per praeconem B dici iussit] A; iussit duci (+sanctos ut decollarentur C) BC
9 Nartadum, Cittonum B; Nartallum, Cithinum C Beturium AC; Biturium B
10 Laetacium B; Laecatium C Ianuarium B *om.* Generosam A Bestiam C 11 *om.* duci iussi BC 12 uniuersi]+uero B; +uno ore C gratias]+et laudes qui nos pro suo (+sancto B) nomine ad gloriosam passionem perducere dignatus est BC 13—15 et ita—amen] et statim decollati sunt pro nomine Christi (+Amen C) BC

ἐξεφώνησεν οὕτω περιέχουσιν· τὸν Σπεράτον, Νάρτζαλλον καὶ Κηττῖνον, Δονᾶτόν τε Ἑστίαν καὶ Σεκούνδαν, καὶ τοὺς ἀφάντους, ὅσοι τῷ χριστιανικῷ θεσμῷ ἑαυτοὺς κατεπηγγείλαντο πολιτεύεσθαι, ἐπεὶ καὶ χαριστικῆς αὐτοῖς προθεσμίας τοῦ πρὸς τῶν ὀρωμένων ἐπανελθεῖν παράδοσιν, ἀκλινεῖς τὴν γνώμην 5 διέμειναν, ξίφει τούτους ἀναιρεθῆναι δέδοκται παρ' ἡμῖν.

Τότε τοίνυν ὁ ἀθλοφόρος τοῦ χριστοῦ Σπεράτος ἐπαλλόμενος εὐχαριστίαν τῷ θεῷ ἡμῶν τῷ προσκεκληκότη αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ θάνατον ἀνέπεμφεν.

Ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Νάρτζαλλος χαίρων εἶπεν· Σήμερον ἀληθῶς 10 μάρτυρες ἐν οὐρανοῖς τυγχάνομεν εὐάρεστοι τῷ θεῷ.

Τότε τοίνυν Σατουρνῖνος ὁ ἀνθύπατος διὰ τοῦ κήρυκος τὰ τῶν ἀγίων μαρτύρων ὀνόματα κηρυχθῆναι προσέταξεν, τουτέστι τὸν Σπεράτον, Νάρτζαλλον, Κηττῖνον, Οὐετούριον, Φίλκα, Ἀκουῖνον, Κελεστῖνον, Ἰανουρίαν, Γενερώσαν, Ἑστίαν, Δονᾶ- 15 ταν καὶ Σεκούνδαν. Τηνικαῦτα οὖν πάντες οἱ ἅγιοι τὸν θεὸν δοξολογοῦντες ὁμοφώνως ἔφασκον· Σοὶ εὐχαριστοῦμεν, τρισάγιε κύριε, καὶ σὲ μεγαλύνομεν, ὅτι τὸν ἀγῶνα τῆς ὁμολογίας ἔλεως ἐτελείωσας, καὶ διαμένει σου ἡ βασιλεία εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, ἀμήν. 20

Καὶ ἀναπεμφάντων αὐτῶν τὸ ἀμὴν ἐτελειώθησαν τῷ ξίφει, μὴνι Ἰουλίῳ ιζ'. ἦσαν οὖν ὁρμώμενοι οἱ ἅγιοι ἀπὸ Ἰσχλῆ τῆς Νουμηδίας, κατὰκεινται δὲ πλησίον Καρθαγέννης μητροπόλεως· ἐμαρτύρησαν δὲ ἐπὶ Πέρσαντος καὶ Κλαυδιανοῦ τῶν ὑπάτων καὶ Σατουρνίνου ἀνθυπάτου, καθ' ἡμᾶς δὲ βασιλεύ- 25 οντος τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ· ᾧ πρέπει πᾶσα δόξα, τιμὴ καὶ προσκύνησις σὺν τῷ παναγίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ πνεύματι νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. ἀμήν.

Ἐπλήσθη σὺν θεῷ τὸ μαρτύριον τῶν ἀγίων Σπεράτου, Ναρτζάλου, Κηττίνου, Οὐετουρίου καὶ τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς. 30

ACTA PROCONSVLARIA MARTYRVN SCILLITANORVM.

Ex Annalibus Ecclesiasticis Baronii, Ad annum 202.

Existente Claudio consule XIV kalendas Augustas Carthagine metropoli, statuto forensi conuentu, præceperunt magistratus adstare sibi Speratum, Narzalem, Cittinum, Donatam, Secundam, et Vestinam. Et adstantibus eis Saturninus proconsul dixit: Potestis ueniam a dominis nostris imperatoribus Seuero et Antono promereri, si bono animo conuersi fueritis ad deos nostros.

Speratus dixit: Nos minime aliquando malum fecimus, neque iniquitatem sequentes in peccatis egimus operationem, nec aliquando cuiquam malediximus, sed male suscepti a uobis, gratias egimus semper. Quamobrem dominum uerum et regem adoramus.

Saturninus proconsul dixit: Et nos electi sumus, et mitissima est elegantia nostra; et iuramus per genium domini nostri imperatoris, et pro salute illius intercedimus, quod et uos facere debuistis.

Speratus dixit: Si tranquillas adhibeas mihi aures tuas, dicam mysterium mansuetudinis.

Saturninus proconsul dixit: Dicente te de mysterio non inferam mala: tantum iura per genium regis nostri.

Speratus dixit: Ego imperatoris mundi genium nescio, sed cælesti Deo meo seruo quem nullus hominum uidit, nec uidere potest. Ego enim nec furatus sum aliquando; sed quodcumque emam tributum do quoniam cognosco eum dominum meum; sed adoro Dominum meum Regem regum et omnium gentium Dominum.

Saturninus proconsul dixit: De cætero a tumultu garrulitatum quiescite, et accedentes sacrificate diis.

Speratus respondit: Illa est mala concitatio, quæ facit homicidium et falsam accusationem aduersus aliquem.

Saturninus proconsul ad alios conuersus dixit: Nolite furoris huius insipientiæ participes fieri, sed timete potius regem nostrum, obedientes præceptis eius.

Cittinus dicit: Nos non habemus alium quem timeamus nisi Dominum Deum nostrum qui est in cælis.

Saturninus proconsul dixit: Detrudantur in carcerem, ponantur in ligno, in diem crastinum.

Sequenti die Saturninus proconsul, sedens pro tribunali, eos præsentari iubet. Qui cum adstitissent dicit ad feminas: Honorate regem nostrum et sacrificate diis.

Tunc Donata dixit: Honorem quidem Cæsari tanquam Cæsari, Deo autem nostro honorem et orationem offerimus.

Bibliothèque Nationale (fonds Latin. Nouvelles Acquisitions, No. 2179).

PASSIO SANCTI ET BEATISSIMI SPERATI ET COMITVM EIVS QVI PASSI SVNT
CARTHAGINE IN CIVITATE, SVB SATVRNINO PROCONSVLE, DIE XIII KAL. AVGVST.

In diebus illis adductos in secretario Carthaginiæ ab apparitorum officio Speratum, Narzalum, Donatam, Secundam et Vestigiam, Saturninus proconsul his omnibus generaliter dixit: Potestis indulgentiam a dominis nostris imperatoribus promereri si ad bonam mentem redeatis et Deorum cærimonias obseruetis.

Sanctus Speratus dixit: Numquam male egisse consci sumus, iniquitati opem atque adsensum non præbuimus. Nulli unquam maledixisse recolimus; sed male tractati ac lacessiti semper Deo gratias egimus, si quidem et pro eis orauimus quos iniuste patiebamur infestos. Pro qua re et imperatorem nostrum adtendimus a quo nobis hæc viuendi norma concessa est.

Saturninus proconsul dixit: Et nos religiosi sumus et simplex est nostra religio et iuramus per genium dominorum nostrorum, pro salute eorum supplicamus, quod et uos facere debeatis.

Sanctus Speratus dixit: Si tranquillas præbueris aures tuas dicam mysterium christianæ simplicitatis.

Saturninus proconsul dixit: Incipienti tibi dicere malum de sacrificiis nostris aures non præbebo. Sed potius iurate per genium dominorum nostrorum imperatorum ut istius mundi lætitia perfruamini nobiscum.

Sanctus Speratus dixit: Ego imperium huius seculi non cognosco sed magis illi fide spe deseruio Deo quem nemo hominum uidit, nec uidere potest. Facinus quod legibus publicis et diuinis comperitur esse damnaule non feci. Si quid autem in publicum emerit [et] de exactoribus publicis euenit, uectigalia reddo. Imperatorem omnium gentium Deum et Dominum meum agnosco. Querelas nulli intuli, sustinere non debeo.

Saturninus proconsul ad cæteros ora conuertit et socios Sperati sic adorsus est dicens: Desinite huius esse persuasionis cultores qua Speratus inlectus est, quoniam si uos eius habuerit professio socios, nihilominus habebit et pœna.

Sanctus Speratus dixit: Mala est persuasio falsum testimonium dicere, si mala utique prouatur concessio si contra diuinis legibus agitis et publicis quibus uitæ humanæ ordo disponitur. Persuasio uero diuinæ culture sectanda est potius quam deserenda.

Saturninus proconsul dixit: In præteritis iam ego admonui ut huius dementiae non annuatis esse participes.

Sanctus Cittinus dixit: Non a nobis aliud oportet audire, o proconsul, nisi et quæ socius noster Speratus confessus est. Scito enim quod non habemus alium quem timeamus nisi unum Deum et Dominum nostrum qui est in cælo.

Sancta similiter Donata adiecit: Honorem Cæsari quasi Cæsari reddimus, timorem autem et cultum Christo Domino præstamus.

Stans Vestina dixit : Et ego christiana sum.

Secunda similiter dixit : Et ego credo in Deo meo et uolo in ipso esse ; diis autem tuis non seruimus, neque adoramus.

Saturninus proconsul auditis his præcepit eas seruari.

Aduocatis uiris dixit Sperato : Perseueras ut christianus sis ?

Speratus dixit : Etiam perseuero et omnes audite quia christianus sum.

Audientes omnes qui cum illo retenti fuerant, consenserunt confessioni illius dicentes : Sumus et nos pariter christiani.

Saturninus proconsul dixit : Nec liberationem, nec remissionem uultis ?

Speratus respondit : In certamine iusto nulla est remissio. Fac quod uis. Nos enim pro Christo gaudentes morimur.

Saturninus proconsul dixit : Qui sunt libri quos adoratis legentes ?

Speratus respondit : Quatuor Euangelia Domini nostri Iesu Christi et Epistolas sancti Pauli apostoli et omnem diuinitus inspiratam Scripturam.

Saturninus proconsul dixit : Spatium trium dierum tribuo uobis ut respiscatis.

Speratus dixit : Christianus sum et omnes qui mecum sunt et a fide Domini nostri Iesu Christi non discedimus. Fac quod uis.

Proconsul uidens etiam ipsorum mentis stabilitatem et fidei firmitatem dedit in eos sententiam per exceptorem, dicens sic : Speratum, Narzalem, Cittinum, Veturium, Felicem, Acylinum, Lætantium, Ianuariam, Generosam, Vestinam, Donatam, et Secundam christianos se esse confitentes et imperatori honorem et dignitatem dare recusantes, capite truncari præcipio.

Hæc cum essent ex tabella recitata, Speratus et qui cum eo erant omnes dixerunt : Deo gratias conferimus qui dignatur nos hodie martyres accipere in cælis pro confessione sua.

His dictis ducti sunt, et flexis genibus unanimiter, cum iterum gratias Christo agerent, truncata sunt singulorum capita.

Consummati sunt Christi martyres mense Iulio, die septimo decimo, et intercedunt pro nobis ad Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum cui honor et gloria cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto in secula seculorum. Amen¹.

¹ I have reprinted these two recensions from Aubé *Étude* &c. pp. 30 ff., italicising those portions of them which are not found in the original text of the Martyrdom. We have thus an interesting study of the way in which Martyrdoms were modified and expanded for Church use.

Vestigia uero uenerabilis sequuta est dicens: Hoc semper meditabitur cor meum et labia mea pronuntiabunt quia christiana sum.

Sancta uero Secunda similiter ait: Quod sum christiana, ipsa esse uolo et a meorum sociorum professione nullo obstante recedo.

Saturninus proconsul Sperato sancto dixit: *Perseueras ut uideo esse christianus.*

Sanctus Speratus dixit: Hanc perseuerantiam non meis uiribus sed diuini muneris me habere confido. Proinde si uis fixam cordis mei habere sententiam quia christianus sum, quidquid mihi et suppliciis inferre uolueris libenter pro nomine Domini Dei mei Iesu Christi suscipiens sustineam.

In hac ergo confessione exerceri Dei martyres consenserunt.

Saturninus proconsul dixit: *Forsitan ad deliberandum spatium uultis accipere?*

Sanctus Speratus dixit: In rem tam bonam qua erit secunda deliberatio? Tunc enim deliberauimus nos culturam Christi non deserere, quando baptismi gratia renouati et diabolo abrenuntiauimus et Christi uestigia secuti sumus.

Saturninus proconsul dixit: *Quæ sunt, dicite mihi, res doctrinarum in causa et religione uestra?*

Sanctus Speratus dixit: Libri Euangeliorum et epistolæ Pauli uiri sanctissimi apostoli.

Saturninus proconsul dixit: *Accipite moram triginta dierum ut retractetis huius sectæ confessionem. Forsitan ad deorum sacra[s] caerimonia[s] reuertimini.*

Sanctus Speratus dixit: Nos triginta dierum spatium non petimus. Nam ipsi erimus post triginta dies qui et hodie sumus. Nec in triginta dierum moras poterit professionem nostram in aliquo permutari; sed potius obtarem et hoc [te] spatium deliberandi accipere ut de tam turpi cultura ydolorum christianæ religionis amator existeres. Cæterum si non es dignus accipere, suspende moram, sententiam recita t[ua]m. Nam quales nos hodie cernis tales post hanc induciam futuros esse non dubites.

Cernens Saturninus proconsul sanctorum perseuerantiam decretum ex tabella recitauit: *Speratum, Narzalum, Cittinum, Donatam, Vestigiam et omnes qui christiano ritu uiuere se confessi sunt et quotquot oblatam sibi facultatem redeundi ad deorum culturam obstinanter non receperunt gladio animaduertere placet.*

Sanctus Speratus dixit: Gratias Deo agimus.

Narzalus sanctus dixit: Hodie martyres in cælo sumus. Deo gratias.

Saturninus proconsul per præconem sanctos iubet adduci id est Speratum, Narzalum, Citinum, Venerium, Felicem, Aquilinum, Lætantium, Ianuaria[m], Generosa[m], Donatam, Vestigiam atque Secundam et illi uenientes ad locum martyrii beatas Deo animas tradiderunt.

Dominus uero Iesus Christus suscepit martyres suos in pace cui est honor et gloria cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto una et coequalis essentia in secula seculorum. Amen.

INDEX OF LATIN WORDS IN THE PASSION OF S. PERPETUA.

*The references in darker figures are to the portions written by the
Martyrs themselves.*

- absentia 64, 8
- accersitus 92, 2
- addicere, animam 88, 8
- adducor 66, 18
- adiutores 76, 10, 12
- adloquor 64, 18; 92, 3
- administro 62, 5
- admiratione, cum 80, 4, 19
- admonitiones 84, 23
- adtonitus 76, 8; 86, 15
- aedificatio 60, 2; 94, 11
- aedifico 66, 17; 80, 12
- Aegyptius 76, 10, 14, 20; 88, 11
- aestimo 62, 9
- aetates temporum 60, 9
- afa 76, 14
- affectio, 62, 27
- agape 86, 9
- Agios, agios, agios 80, 14
- agon 76, 14
- alicubi 66, 2
- amen, dicere 68, 9
- anhelo 76, 5
- ansula 92, 15
- antiquitas 60, 8
- aper 90, 3 *bis*
- ardere uiuus 80, 7
- argumenta diaboli 64, 6
- Artaxium 80, 7
- Aspasius 82, 1
- auctoritas 60, 7
- audior 68, 13; 70, 8
- auditus 62, 15
- baptisma secundum 92, 12
- baptismus secundus 88, 3
- baptizor 64, 9
- barbam euellere 74, 18
- basio 68, 23
- benedictus 64, 15; 78, 13
- beneficio *c. gen.* 64, 13, 20; 66, 6
- beneficium 62, 12
- buccella 68, 7
- Caesar 74, 1; 86, 2
- calco 68, 2 *bis*; 78, 4, 6; 88, 11
- calx 78, 2
- cancerata facies 72, 16
- candidati 68, 5
- careo *c. acc.* 64, 7
- carnalis 72, 15
- carnes 66, 13
- caseus 68, 7
- castigatius 84, 22
- castrensis 72, 26 *bis*
- cataractariorum ministri 84, 11
- catasta 70, 4, 10
- catechuminus 62, 18, 22; 90, 21; 92, 3
- cauea 90, 6
- celebro 62, 7
- Ceres 88, 6
- cessatione, sine 74, 8; 80, 1, 15
- Christiana 64, 4; 70, 16, 17
- cicatrix 74, 6

- circiter 62, 23
 circumstantes 68, 4, 8
 circus 82, 11
 clamo 68, 6; 78, 6
 claritas 62, 16; 94, 14
 clauus 76, 17
 commanduco 68, 9
 commartyres 84, 5
 commeatus 66, 5
 commemoror 72, 8
 commendo 64, 19
 comminor 88, 12
 commissio spectaculi 88, 22
 componere 82, 3
 concussura 64, 13
 conficior 90, 2
 conforto 60, 4; 64, 19; 70, 3
 conlaboro 76, 7
 compuncta 94, 3
 conserua 62, 19
 constantia 84, 21; 86, 9; 88, 6
 constituo praemio 64, 15
 consuetudinem, praeter 90, 9
 consummo 92, 23
 consumer 92, 9
 consumptus taedio 68, 14; 74, 17
 contestor 86, 10
 contristo 70, 5; 84, 6
 conturbo 82, 9; 92, 15
 conualesco 64, 22
 conuersor 62, 9
 coronam, gloriosiore 88, 22
 crastina dies 66, 7
 crastinus 86, 12
 creatura, uniuersa 74, 20
 curiositas 86, 11
 cypressus 78, 23

 dedecus hominum 68, 18
 defectus 64, 18
 defrigere 76, 13
 deicere 62, 27; 68, 15; 70, 18 *bis*; 88, 1
 delicata, Dei 86, 19; puella d. 90, 12
 depono animos 68, 20
 deputor 60, 7
 desperatio fidei 62, 8
 desub 66, 21
 diaconus 64, 15; 70, 23; 76, 1

 diastema 72, 18
 dicto 64, 10
 differor 84, 3
 digero 60, 3, 5; 62, 7
 dignatio 62, 10; 66, 4
 Dinocrates 72, 6, 11, 14, 19, 21; 74, 4, 9
 discincta 76, 2; 90, 13
 discingor 76, 16
 dispoliatus 90, 10
 distribuo 62, 6
 diuinitas 62, 9
 documentum 60, 4; 84, 21
 domina 66, 3; 70, 1
 dominicae passionis 88, 17
 donatiua 62, 5
 draco 66, 14, 20

 ecclesia 62, 4; 94, 11
 educo 84, 16
 effero 76, 18
 eicio 68, 1
 eniti puellam 84, 15
 episcopus 80, 26
 erubescor 86, 4
 eruo 64, 6
 euerto 62, 27
 exanimo 92, 18
 exemplum 60, 1; 94, 10
 exeo (= morior) 78, 14; 80, 8; 82, 3
 exequor 84, 20
 exinde 92, 2, 17
 exitus 82, 18; 88, 19
 exortor 92, 6
 expauesco 64, 11; 80, 4
 experior *c. acc.* 64, 12; 66, 6; *c. abl.* 88, 23
 experrectus 68, 9; 72, 23; 78, 9; 82, 15;
 expergita 90, 23
 expolior 76, 12
 extasis 90, 23
 extermino 68, 21
 exululo 94, 4
 exuperatio 60, 11

 fabulor 66, 6
 factiones (circi) 82, 11
 fastigium 76, 16
 fautores 76, 12, 13; 78, 6
 Felicitas 62, 19; 82, 21; 88, 1; 90, 18

- femus 90, 15
 ferramenta 66, 11, 14
 feruorem facere 72, 2
 fiala 74, 8, 9
 fideicommissum 84, 20
 fidenter 66, 7
 filioli 62, 13
 flagellum 88, 15

 galliculae 76, 3, 17
 gesto 78, 20; 80, 4; 88, 22
 gestu et nutu 88, 13
 Geta 74, 1
 gladiator 94, 4
 gloria 78, 8; 84, 19; 86, 3; 90, 17
 gloria Dei 62, 7
 gloria Domini 62, 14; 94, 9
 graece loqui 82, 6
 gratulor 88, 16
 gustare, aliquid doloris 94, 3

 habitus 68, 4; 88, 4; 92, 2
 hamus 66, 12
 hereditas 92, 16
 Hilarianus 70, 12, 16, 18; 88, 13, 14
 hoc (= huc) 74, 22
 homicidii, comites 92, 20
 honorifico 94, 10
 honoro 60, 4; 62, 3
 horoma 74, 22
 horreo 86, 3; 90, 11
 hortus 68, 3
 humanius haberi 86, 4

 ilico 70, 11
 illo 92, 9
 imbecillitas 62, 8
 immundus spiritus 94, 6
 incantationes magicae 84, 24
 induco 76, 6; 88, 10
 inedia 64, 18
 inenarrabilis 82, 14
 infibulo 90, 16
 ingemisco 72, 10
 iniustitia 88, 9, 10
 inlaesus 90, 7
 inluceo 86, 16
 inproporo 74, 19

 inridentes (v. l. inritantes) 86, 11
 insidias praesto 66, 15
 instrumentum 62, 4
 instupeco 90, 24
 interrogor 70, 10
 intersum 62, 13
 inuicem 74, 16; 82, 9; 92, 4, 22; ad inu.
 72, 18; 78, 1
 Iocundum 80, 6
 iudico 60, 9
 iugulatio 92, 18
 iugulum 94, 5
 ius gladii 70, 14

 lacto 64, 18
 lancea 66, 12
 lanior, 66, 13
 lanista 76, 18; 78, 7
 lectio 60, 3; 62, 7
 lente 68, 1
 leopardus 88, 23; 90, 2; 92, 9, 10
 leuo 68, 5
 libera, cena 86, 8
 libero (= transeo) 78, 17
 locus tenebrosus 72, 11, 12
 lucror 82, 19
 ludo 74, 10; 80, 23
 lumbi 90, 14

 maceror 64, 14; 72, 4
 machera 66, 12
 magnificare 74, 14; 94, 9
 magnitudinis, mirae 66, 9, 15; 76, 15
 mammae 72, 2, 3; 90, 12
 mandatum 84, 19
 manduco 68, 8
 masculas, fieri 76, 13
 matertera 68, 19
 matrona Christi 86, 19
 matronaliter nupta 62, 21
 memoria sanguinis 92, 17
 ministro 64, 15
 Minucius 70, 13
 mittere se 64, 5; 82, 2, 5; mittere pugnos
 78, 1
 morsu, uno 90, 2; 92, 9, 11
 mulgeo 68, 4, 7
 multiformis 76, 17

- multiplex 76, 3
 mundus, primus 78, 17

 natale 74, 1; 86, 2
 necessario 62, 6
 necessarius 60, 6
 neglegenter 66, 12
 neruus 74, 3
 nobilissimus 86, 2
 noceo *c. acc.* 66, 21
 nouissime 64, 13
 nouissimior 60, 11
 nouitior 60, 10

 obducor 88, 8
 obicior 84, 12; 88, 21
 obstetrix 88, 3
 obstipui 72, 7
 omne genus flores 78, 22
 operor 60, 2; 62, 10; 94, 13
 Optatus 80, 26; 82, 10
 optio 74, 13; 86, 6
 orationem facere 72, 9, 17; 74, 1; o.
 fundere 84, 8
 ordo martyrii 62, 23; o. muneris 84, 18;
 pro o. uenatorum 88, 16
 oriens 78, 15
 osculor 78, 7; 80, 20; 92, 22
 ostendor 66, 4, 8; 72, 11; 74, 3
 ostium 76, 1; 80, 12

 papa 82, 4
 paries 80, 11
 passio 66, 5; 68, 11; 70, 2; 86, 10
 passiones 92, 4; p., dominicae 88, 17
 pax (osculum) 80, 22; 92, 23
 Perpetua 62, 20; 66, 20; 76, 3; 78, 18;
 80, 23; 82, 6, 17; 84, 20; 88, 11; 90,
 13, 21; 94, 2, 3
 persecutio 80, 7
 perseuero 64, 1
 pertingo 66, 9
 pignus 92, 17
 piscina 72, 20, 22; 74, 6
 plebem tuam 82, 10
 Pomponius 64, 14; 70, 23; 76, 1
 pons 90, 6
 populus immensus 70, 9; p. ingens 76, 8

 posterius 60, 6
 postulo 66, 4, 8; 72, 1; 88, 16; 92, 19
 praegnans 84, 2, 3
 praepositus carceris 74, 13
 praesens tempus 60, 7
 praesumo 60, 8; 90, 2; 92, 7
 praetorium 66, 2
 prandeo 70, 7
 presbyter doctor 82, 1; presbyter 82, 4
 proconsulis, loco 70, 13
 procurator 70, 13
 producior 90, 11, 24
 profecto 64, 6
 proinde 60, 6
 pronuntio 70, 20
 prophetiae 62, 2
 prosecutores 62, 26
 prout 62, 6
 proximo 74, 16
 psallere 78, 7; 88, 11
 Pudens 74, 13; 92, 6, 14
 pulpitus 88, 23

 quandoque 60, 6
 Quintus 80, 7

 reclamo 92, 12
 refrigero 64, 8, 16; 74, 5, 16; 82, 8; 86,
 1, 5
 releuor 64, 22
 rememoror 62, 14
 renuntio 66, 7
 repraesentari, poenae 84, 4
 repraesentatio 60, 3
 repromitto 62, 3, 11; 66, 7
 reputo 60, 10
 requisita 90, 16
 retiarius 88, 3
 reticulis indutae 90, 10
 retro 74, 4, 6
 reuelationes 62, 10
 Reuocatus 62, 18; 88, 12
 reuocor 88, 22; 90, 7, 13, 20
 rosae, arbor 78, 22; 82, 7
 rumor cucurrit 68, 13; 70, 8
 Rusticus 90, 22

 sacerdotes Saturni 88, 5

- sacratae Cereri 88, 5
 sacrum, facio 70, 15
 salutare Dominum 80, 10
 saluum lotum 92, 12, 13
 Sanauiuaria, porta 78, 9; 90, 21
 Saturninus 62, 19; 80, 6; 88, 12, 20
 Saturnus 88, 5
 Satorus 66, 16; 78, 13; 82, 17; 86, 11;
 88, 12; 90, 1, 5, 7; 92, 6; 94, 1
 scala 66, 8, 11, 14, 19; 68, 1
 scandalizor 92, 4
 Secundulus 62, 19; 82, 17
 segrego 82, 6
 seniores 80, 17, 18, 21, 23
 sensu, suo 62, 25
 sermocinor 88, 20
 simpliciter 88, 10
 solemnna pacis 92, 22
 sollicitudo 64, 14, 21; 66, 1; 72, 3
 sollicitus 64, 18
 spatia, saeculi 60, 11
 statim 64, 22; 68, 10; 70, 8, 23; 72, 8;
 84, 9; 92, 10
 statura 72, 20
 stillantibus mammis 90, 12
 stolae candidae 80, 13
 subfossus 90, 4
 subito 66, 1; 70, 7; 72, 5
 subleuo 80, 20
 subligo 90, 4
 sublimitas 84, 22
 subministror 90, 3
 substrictus 90, 5
 sufferentia carnis 64, 10
 summam, ad 92, 7
 superuenio 68, 13
 supinus 78, 16
 supplementum 84, 18
 sursum uersi 78, 16
 suscito 90, 19
 sustineo 66, 20; 94, 2
 tabesco 64, 19, 20
 tegnon 68, 6
 Tertius 64, 14
 testificor 60, 1; 94, 13
 testimonium 62, 11; 92, 12
 Timinianus 70, 13
 tirunculus 94, 4
 traicere in faciem 80, 21
 tribunus 84, 22; 86, 4; 88, 10
 tunica 90, 14
 uacca 90, 8, 25
 uaco 64, 17
 ubera 62, 22
 uelamentum 90, 15
 uenatores 88, 16
 ueneratio 60, 8
 uentrem habere 84, 1; uenter 84, 3
 uexatio 92, 1
 uexo 64, 6; 88, 15; 90, 1
 Vibia Perpetua 62, 20
 uiderint 60, 8
 uiolatum, stadium 80, 6
 uiridarium 78, 22; 80, 1; 82, 7
 uirtus 60, 9; 62, 4; 74, 15; 94, 12
 uisio 62, 2; 66, 4; 78, 13; 82, 16
 umbilicus 74, 7
 uolutare 76, 15
 uotum, martyrii 88, 20
 urceolus 64, 2
 ursus 88, 23; 90, 1, 5, 6
 usurpo 64, 21
 utique 86, 1; 88, 16; 92, 13; 94, 10

INDEX OF GREEK WORDS IN THE GREEK VERSION OF THE PASSION OF S. PERPETUA.

ἀβέβαιος 63, 8
 ἄγκιστρον 67, 13
 ἀδημονεῖν 71, 6
 ἀκαταπαύστως 81, 1, 15
 ἀλγιδών 73, 3
 ἀνάβασις ὁμαλή 79, 21
 ἀναβολή 67, 6
 ἀναπνοή 65, 19
 ἀνεκδιήγητος 83, 18
 ἀνθομολογεῖσθαι 87, 12
 ἀνθύπατος 71, 13
 ἀντιλήμπτωρ 77, 16
 ἀντίληψις 63, 12
 ἀξίωμα 63, 11; 67, 4
 αὐτοκράτορες 71, 16
 αὐχμὸς 65, 21

βελονή 91, 19
 βραβευτής 77, 22; 79, 8

γάγγραινα 73, 17
 γαυριᾶν 79, 8
 γενέθλιον 73, 29; 87, 2

δακτύλιον 93, 17
 δάμαλις 91, 9, 29
 διάστημα 73, 19
 διχοστασίαι 83, 11
 δορύφορος 71, 20

ἐγρήγορος 87, 24
 εἰρηνοποιεῖν 81, 24
 ἐκθαμβος 73, 7
 ἐνδιδύσκομαι 91, 14
 ἐξόχως 63, 23

ἐπανορθοῦν 83, 13
 ἐπισημειοῦσθαι 87, 16
 ἐπίτροπος 71, 13
 εὐλόγησον 61, 2
 εὐσπλαγχία 63, 30

ζώγριον 91, 7
 ζωτική πύλη 79, 11; 91, 25

ἡλικία 61, 15
 ἡλμευγε 69, 4, 7

θηλάζω 63, 25; 71, 23
 θηριομαχεῖν 73, 29; 75, 25; 83, 24; 85,
 2; 89, 2

ἱπποδρομῖαι 83, 14

καλῶς ἐλούσω 93, 14
 κατὰδικοι 87, 1
 καταφέρεσθαι 81, 1
 κατηχούμενος 63, 20, 24; 91, 26; 93, 3
 κέλευσμα 85, 21
 κερατίζω 91, 15, 22
 κολυμβήθρα 73, 21, 24; 75, 8
 κυπάρισσος 79, 27

λακτίσματα 79, 2
 λευχειμονεῖν 69, 5

μακάρισμος 87, 13
 μαραίνεσθαι 65, 21; 69, 15
 μασᾶσθαι 69, 10
 μοναχός 67, 11

- μονογενής 95, 14
 μονομαχία 89, 3
 μονόμαχος 77, 23 ; 95, 4
 μυστήριον 93, 26

 νέρβον 75, 4
 νόναι 61, 1, 5

 όβελίσκος 67, 13
 όλιγόπιστος 63, 8
 όμφάλιον 75, 8
 ούλή 75, 7

 παγκρατιάζειν 79, 1
 πανάρετος πολιτεία 95, 12
 παρατηρεῖν 63, 29 ; 85, 11
 πάρδαλις 89, 25 ; 91, 2 ; 93, 10, 11
 παρεμβολή 73, 29
 περιέργεια 87, 14
 περιλαμβάνειν 81, 22 ; 83, 7
 περίλυπος 65, 23 ; 83, 2
 πραιτώριον 67, 1

 προστάτης μονομάχων 77, 22

 ρόδου δένδρον 79, 26 ; 83, 9

 σάρκες 67, 14
 συκοφανταί 65, 15
 συλλαμβάνειν 63, 19
 συσσφίγω 91, 19

 τελειοῦσθαι 61, 1

 υγίαινε 93, 16
 ύπαγορεύω 65, 10
 υπόζωσμα 91, 14
 ύπουργεῖν 77, 12

 φιλοτιμίαι 79, 14 ; 85, 19 ; 91, 6
 φλεγμονή 73, 2

 χιλίαρχος 73, 28 ; 85, 24 ; 87, 4

 ψωμίον 69, 8

INDEX OF SUBJECT-MATTER.

- Abraham, Testament of, 39
 Africanism, 46, 60, 76, 82
 Amphitheatre at Carthage, 76
 Anulinus, as a persecutor, 25
 Augustine; view as to Dinocrates, 29

 Barlaam and Josaphat; relation to
 Apocalypse of Peter, 37 f., 41
 Baruch, Rest of Words of, 39
 Basilica of Perpetua, 22, 68
 Bezae, Codex, 48, 75, 98
 Breviaries, Commemoration of Perpetua
 in, 20 f., 85

 Calendar, Carthaginian 15, 24; Buche-
 rian, 23
 Carthage; proconsular palace, 5, 66;
 basilica of Perpetua, 22, 68; amphi-
 theatre, 76
 Commemoration of Perpetua; date of,
 17; in Breviaries, 20 f., 85

 Date of martyrdom of Perpetua, 24

 Esdras, Apocalypse of, 40
 Eucharist, elements in, 69

 Furseus, vision of, 41

 Gebhart, Von; conjectural emendations
 by, 5, 61
 Geta, 86; his name erased, 25
 Gladiators, oath of, 89
 Glory, of martyrdom, 50

 Greek version of Perpetua, 61 ff.; dis-
 covery of, 1 f.; relation to Latin text,
 2 ff.
 Greek words used by Perpetua, 43

 Hermas, Shepherd of; relation of the
 Visions to, 28 ff.; early Latin Version
 of, 35; Tertullian's view of, 36

 Ignatius, supposed references to Epistles
 of, 83, 87

 Legal phraseology in Martyrdom of
 Perpetua, 52 f., 85
 Lyons; see Vienne

 Manuscripts of Passion of S. Perpetua,
 10 ff.; mutual relations of, 12 ff.; addi-
 tional variants from, 96 f.
 Menaeum, 21
 Menology of Basil, 21
 Methodius; Symposium, 42 f.
 Montanistic allusions, 6, 51 f.
 Moses, Apocalypse of, 38, 41

 Old Latin Version of N.T.; used in
 Gaul, 97 ff.

 Palatinus, Codex (*e*), 98 f.
 Paradise, Visions of, 37 ff.
 Paul, Apocalypse of, 40 f.
 Peace, kiss of, 25, 93
 Perpetua, S.; use of Greek words by,
 43; her style, 44 ff.; her basilica at
 Carthage, 22, 68; compiler of her
 martyrdom, 47 ff.

- Polyxena; see Xanthippe
 Proconsular palace at Carthage, 5, 66
 Punic original of martyrdom of Perpetua,
 supposed, 77
 Saturn, the African, 88
 Satorius; his style, 46
 Scillitan Martyrs, Acts of, 106 ff.; origi-
 nal Latin found, 107; texts and Greek
 version of, 112 ff.
 Short Latin Acts of Perpetua; text of,
 100 ff.; origin of, 15 ff.; use of, 20 ff.
 Speculum, quoted, 98
 Syriac Martyrology, 23
 Ter Sanctus, 39, 81
 Tertullian; his view of the Shepherd of
 Hermas, 36; probably compiled the
 Martyrdom of Perpetua, 47 ff.; De
 Patientia quoted, 57 f.
 Thomas, Acts of, 43, 73
 Thuburbo; various forms of, 17; locality
 of, 26; Perpetua not from, 22 ff.
 Thuburbitan Martyrs, 25 f.
 Trees of Paradise, 38 f.
 Victor Vitensis, 22, 68
 Vienne and Lyons, Letter from, 8, 66;
 Old Latin Version traced in, 73, 97 ff.
 Visions of Perpetua and Satorius; in-
 debted to Canonical Scriptures, 26 ff.;
 and to Shepherd of Hermas, 28 ff.;
 and to Apocalypse of Peter, 37 ff.;
 their authorship, 43 ff.
 Xanthippe, unpublished Acts of, 65

BX

4700

P42 H3

R6

189 916

Perpetua, St. Legend

Passion of ...

(Robinson)

My 8 '41

Dr. Luelke, Piquette

no

NOV 13 1941

Ann Kautsky

35 '41

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



20 052 160

BX 4700

.P42A3R6

PERPETUA, St. LEGEND

Passion of..... (Robinson)

189916

BX
4700
P42 H3
R6

BX
4700
P42 H3
R6

BX
4700
P42 H3
R6

BX
4700
P42 H3
R6

189 916

189 916

189 916

189 916

My 8 '41

My 8 '41

My 8 '41

Mr. Luella Powers^{2nd}

Mr. Luella Powers^{2nd}

Mr. Luella Powers^{2nd}

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



20 052 160

BX L700

.P42A3R6

PERPETUA, St. LEGEND

Passion of.... (Robinson)

189916

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



20 052 160

